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MEMORIALS OF THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND

General Editor:
REV. P. H. DITCHFIELD, M.A., F.S.A., F.R.S.L., F.R.Hist.S.

MEMORIALS OF OLD LANCASHIRE

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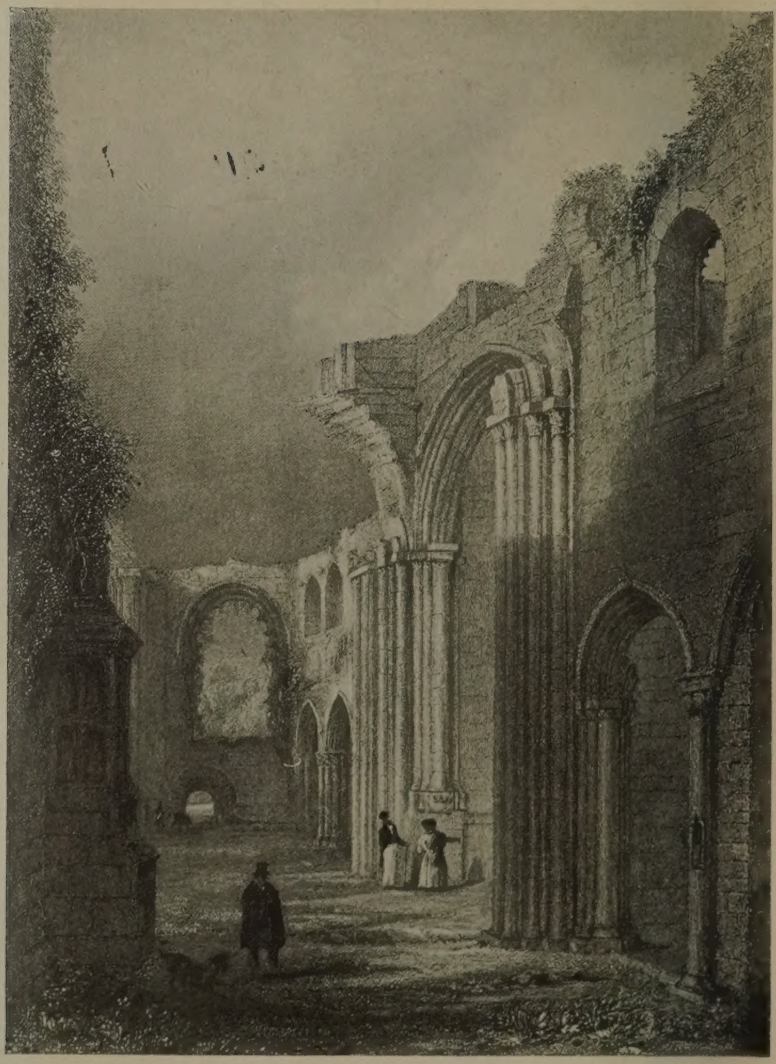

FURNESS ABBEY CHURCH.
VIEW FROM SOUTH TO NORTH TRANSEPT.

Painted by Daniel Crosthwaite. *Engraved by F. W. Topham.*

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MEMORIALS OF OLD LANCASHIRE

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CASTLES AND FORTIFIED HOUSES

By Lieut.-Colonel Fishwick, F.S.A.

THAT the Saxons built fortified strongholds in various parts of the portion of Northumbria now known as Lancashire can admit of no doubt, but the nature of these structures was not of a character to long withstand the wear and tear of centuries and the ravages made by the Danes. At Aldingham Moat Hill, in Furness, still remains an artificial mound which is believed to be a "motte" of the Norman period. At Pennington, in the same district, is a mound still known as Castle Hill, as is also a piece of rising ground at Halton. The only castle named in the *Domesday Survey* (A.D. 1086) as then existing was at Penwortham, of which it records that appertaining to it were six burgesses, three "radmen" or riding men, eight villeins, and four neatherds or cattle keepers.

It is quite possible that this was then a modern castle which had been erected by Roger de Poictou. In this castle in the time of Henry III. Randolph de Blundeville, Earl of Chester and baron of Lancaster, held his courts. He died in 1232. Soon after this the castle fell into ruins, and for centuries afterwards its history is unknown, but its site is still known as Castle Hill.

The particulars given in *Domesday Book* referring to Rochdale are very meagre; nevertheless, we may safely assume that Castleton took its name from a Saxon castle which some time stood within its boundaries. In the twelfth century many charters refer to "the vill of the castle of Rachedal," and in a deed without date, but

executed in or about 1238, a distinct reference is made to land which was bounded on one side by "the ditch of the castle," and to a right of ingoing and exit to "the place of the castle." The details given in this charter show clearly that this castle stood on the rising ground overlooking and commanding the valley of the Roche and still known as Castle Hill, and near which was the large sheet of water called Castle Mere.

In 1626 Gabriel Taylor held a house, known as "Castle Hill," by a lease from the Duchy, and it is described as situate on the "reputed scite of a castle standing there, but now clean defaced." The mound upon which the structure stood rises over one hundred feet from the level of the old river bed, and has every characteristic of a Saxon thane's fortified dwelling. It would not improbably be partially built of stone, and surrounded with earth-works and moats. A plan taken before the construction of the new Manchester turnpike-road shows clearly the then formation of the hill. Near the top were two level areas, one slightly above the other; the lower comprised two acres and ten perches, and the upper one over seventeen perches. On the southern and western sides mounds of earth had been thrown up, but the other sides were protected by the naturally inclined ground. In the charter just referred to, and in which the ditch of the castle is named, a detailed description is given of the land to which a right of road was reserved; one of the boundaries is described as beginning between the high banks between Great and Little Bromyrode (now Brimrod), proceeding to Sudden, from thence to the water of "Rach," and then ascending the Rach as far as the dead water called "Twofoldhee."

This hill in Saxon times must have occupied such a commanding situation that it could not have escaped the notice of any warlike thane of Rochdale who wished to protect his territory from invasion. The land on the south-east side is known as Kill Danes Field.

The Roman strongholds and fortifications have been dealt with in the article in Vol. I. on "The Romans in Lancashire."

Lancaster Castle

A Roman *castrum* was built at Lancaster in the time of Trajan (A.D. 98-117), which before the Norman Conquest had been destroyed. In *Domesday Book* "Lancastre" was called a *vill* dependent on the manor of Halton, which was part of the possessions bestowed by the Conqueror upon Roger de Poictou, who probably at once erected some kind of a fort or keep on the site long before occupied by the Romans. Some parts of Roger de Poictou's building still remain.

In 13 Edward I. (1284-5) the castle and the honour of Lancaster were given to Edmund, nicknamed "Crouchback," Earl of Lancaster, second son of Henry III. The castle stood in an almost impregnable position, and was of great strength, yet in 1322 its defenders were unable to prevent the Scots taking the town, which they partially destroyed by fire; but the castle itself, though somewhat damaged, resisted the attacks.

In 1324 Hawise de Bolleron held a house and land of the Duchy by service of finding a mason to work in the castle when required, taking for his wage 2d. a day; and in the same year a carpenter was paid £5 14s. towards making the prison and bridge at the entry of the castle which had been burned by the Scots.

John of Gaunt was declared Duke of Lancaster in 1362, and was the owner of the honour and castle; he died in 1399. There is, however, no evidence that he ever for any length of time resided at the castle, but there undoubtedly were held most of the courts belonging to his vast domains.

That about this time extensive alterations were in progress is evident, as in 1377 Adam de Hoghton, keeper of the Quernmore Forest, had orders to cut down two hundred oak trees within the foreign wood there for the

repairs of the castle. Ten years later we find the castle used as a prison, a writ being issued in 1386 to the keeper of Lancaster Forest to accept bail for William Warde, then a prisoner in the castle. Again, in 1434, recognisance was taken that William de Radcliffe, of Todmorden, the younger, did not escape from the same prison; and in 1437, he being still confined there, the recognisance taken amounted to four hundred marks. During the long Wars of the Roses, the castle probably more than once changed hands, but none of the battles took place in its vicinity.

Early in the sixteenth century (*ante* 1535), Richard Norris, of Kirkby, complained to the Duchy that he had for three months been "in ward in the castle of Lancaster to the utter undoing of his poor wife and children." The cause of his imprisonment was (as he alleged) that he had been robbed by a household servant. Sir Edward Mollineux was then rector of Sefton, and because through his evidence the guilty party was convicted, the rector, bearing "extreme and utter malice" against him, had said that within a year he would see him hanged if it cost him £100, and he accordingly had caused him (the plaintiff) to be wrongfully indicted for felony and sent to prison.

Amongst the prisoners confined in the castle during the sixteenth century were John Paslew, the last abbot of Whalley, and George Marsh, the martyr. The following letter evidently refers to materials taken from one of the discharged chantries and used to repair the castle:—

After your most hertie recomendacons, understandinge by your lres (of the xiith of may) to me sent by my servauntte that youe arre not fully satisfyed by my late certificat to youe mayd of the leade remayninge in Lancastre castell but that theire shuld remayne yet of the seyd lead, over and besyde the alowaunce of such leade as was bestowed and occupyed abowte the repayr of the seyd castell accordinge to the rate expresed in my seyd lres twelve fuders[1] and a halff at the least—willinge me further by your seyd lres to examyn the premyss and to geove youe shall be to signefie unto youe that I have accordingly mayde dyligent

[1] A fother = nineteen cwt.

Drawn by T. Hearne. LANCASTER CASTLE IN 1778. *Engraved by Wm Watts.*

further adjustysment of the same in mydsom tearme next. Wherefre there inquysition thereof by all wayes and meanes I possible might but more than I have already certefyed I cannot fynde and certen I ame that noo more hayth gone furthe of the seyd Castell than I have already certefyed and theire is noo more remayninge than by the same lykewyse appearyth wherfor if any Deceipte were in this matter it is moste lyke to be by hyme that Delyud the seyd leade into the seyd Castell whoo ought to have delyud the sam. by Indenture whiche he dydd not. Albe it if you have me in this matter suspected anythinge (whereof the Indenture beinge spoken of in the audyter's books may give you occasyon) I shall wishe and desyre you to trye me theryn by Comyssyon or other wyse as shall Stand with your pleasures to the uttermoste And thus wishinge unto youe all helth—as to my Self I Comytt youe to the Trynitie, frome Skargill the xx firste day of June 1556

your frynd not aquatyd
MARMADUKE TONSTALL.

[*Endorsed*] To the wurshipfull Willm Berners Thomas myldmay and John Wyseman the Kynge and Quenes Mate Comyss for Leade and other theire heighnes debte from Marmaduke Tunstall knight for Lead.

During the time of Elizabeth the castle was repaired and put in a defensible condition, and the battlements of the great keep were raised to a height of seventy feet. In this tower is a stone engraved "E.R. 1585. R.A." The initials standing for Queen Elizabeth and Richard Ashton, the high sheriff of the county.

The assizes were now, and for several centuries previously, held at Lancaster, and in 1623 the judges issued an order to the justices in their several divisions to collect money for the maintenance of the gaol.

At the assizes in August, 1636, there were nearly fifty prisoners, and amongst them no less than ten who were set down as witches, some of whom were kept in a dark chamber, above which, in a large room without furniture, was confined Henry Burton, who, for writing the work entitled *For God and the King*, had been sentenced to perpetual imprisonment and to lose his ears. Whilst in the Lancaster gaol he was not permitted the use of pen, ink, or paper, and was only allowed to read the Bible and the Prayer Book.

At the commencement of the Civil War, Lancaster Castle was held by the Royalists, but after the successful siege of Preston in February, 1642-3, it was captured by Cromwell's troops, who at once set free all the prisoners there. But they found the castle ill-fitted to sustain a siege, as it had few (if any) guns, but as Nathaniel Barnet, the Puritan minister of Lancaster, puts it, "the lift up hand of the God of the seas was working with the winds to bring a man of War that came from Spain furnished with one and twenty peeces of Brasse and Iron Ordnance." This ship was stranded near Rossall (in the Wyre), and, being seized by the Earl of Derby, was burnt, but by some means the Parliamentary forces got the guns and carried them to Lancaster Castle, and, in consequence, when the Earl marched his troops to Lancaster, although they partly destroyed the town, they were unable to enter its castle. When the Commonwealth had secured the country, the Privy Council perceived a source of danger lurking behind the battlements of this castle, and in June, 1649, an order was made for its demolition, except the courts required for courts of justice and the prisons; the guns and ammunition were sent to Liverpool.

In August in the same year the lead, timber, and the portcullis were ordered to be used for the repair of the castles of Liverpool and Chester. These orders were evidently reluctantly carried out, for in March, 1651, a mandate was received to the effect that, notwithstanding the orders given, the castle was not yet made untenable, but might still be used by the enemy, and therefore a party of horse and foot should be stationed there.

Some portion of the roof must have been removed, as in 1649 the people of Preston obtained sufficient lead from Lancaster Castle to enable them to re-cover the chancel of their parish church, they having used the old lead to supply bullets for the siege. According to one authority only the walls of the quadrangle were pulled down, but

the days of the old castle as a fortress were now over; gradually its ancient features disappeared.

At the beginning of the last century the southern tower and the dungeon tower were taken down, and during the process much interesting evidence of their great antiquity was discovered.

In 1679-80 the judges complained that they did not wish to hold the assizes at Lancaster, as the ruins of the castle made it dangerous to sit in the courts.

After the passing of the Act of Parliament for improving prisons in 1788, the greater portion of the modern buildings were erected. The oldest view of Lancaster Castle is a small one on Speed's map of the town taken early in the seventeenth century, which shows six towers, but the ancient seal of the borough on the same map only gives four towers. Of the so-called John of Gaunt's Gateway (although built at a much later period), the best view is the one drawn by T. Hearne and dated 1778.

Clitheroe

Roger de Poictou, the great lord of Lancashire, whose very great possessions included the honour of Clitheroe and all the lands between the Ribble and the Mersey at the date of Domesday (A.D. 1086), had forfeited these estates, which he had held in the time of Edward the Confessor. The *Domesday Book* mentions the *Castellatus Rogeri*, which was no doubt his fortified residence and situated at Clitheroe, the castle at Lancaster not having then been erected. Under William Rufus, Roger de Poictou regained his property, and between 1090 and 1095 he granted the whole of Blackburnshire to Robert de Lacy, who in his turn forfeited it for treason, only to have it restored to him by Henry I., and it remained in the de Lacy family until Thomas, Earl of Lancaster (who had married Alice, daughter and heiress of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln), was executed for high treason, March 23rd, 1322, when the honour reverted to the Crown,

and Edward III. gave it to Queen Isabella for her life, she thus becoming "lady of the manor and castle of Clitheroe."

The Duchy continued to hold it for three hundred years. Charles II., in 1661, gave it to the Duke of Albemarle, from whom it passed to the Duke of Buccleuch, whose descendant, Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, now holds it.

Probably the ownership of these vast possessions gave rise to the common Lancashire saying applied to a person who assumes dignity to which he was not born, "he might be the Duke of Buccleugh."

Originally the castle was of small dimensions, and built more for defence than for a residence, though in the time of Henry de Lacy the lord of the honour for a time made it his dwelling-place, and at the same time used it as fortress and gaol, and here were held all the manorial courts.

In 1286 we find a Nicholas de Werdhyll, having been detected in killing a deer in the forest of Rochdale (within this honour), was dragged to Clitheroe Castle and there kept in durance vile until he paid a fine of four marks.

There was a chapel within the castle walls dedicated to St. Michael, which is said to have been founded almost as early as the castle. In a compotus of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, taken in 1304, occurs the following items of expenditure:—

Covering and repairing houses within the castle .	£0	3	9
Hay bought for the castle	0	10	0
Fee of seneschall for three quarters of a year . .	10	0	0
Fee for constable for half a year	3	15	0
Wages of the porter of the castle for half a year .	1	2	9

And amongst the receipts are:—

Herbage of the castle ditches	£0	1	6
Herbage of the garden and toft adjoining . .	0	3	0

In the inquisition taken in 1311, after the death of the last De Lacy, the castle with the moat and ditches are mentioned, also an orchard "under the castle," and the advowson of the chapel in the castle yard.

In 19 Edward III. (1345-6) the chapel formed the subject of a dispute between the King and the abbot of Whalley, and we find mention made of William de Tateham, steward of the castle in the time of Edward II.

The great gate of the castle was repaired in 1324, and it took a carpenter twenty-nine days to make it, for which he was paid 3½d. a day; the lock and key cost 10s. 10d. At the same time extensive repairs were done at the house in the castle and a new room was added. Amongst other details preserved are the carriage of thirty waggon loads of timber from Bowland, 38s.; twelve waggon loads from Leagrim Park, 16s.; forty-five waggon loads of sclatstons for the roof, 27s. 6d. When the old room was pulled down 4s. 2½d. was spent on bread, ale, butter, and cheese.

Further repairs were made in 1480 by Edward IV., who was anxious to strengthen the fortress in anticipation of the border warfare then imminent. The constable of the castle held his office by patent and for his life; his salary was £10 a year.

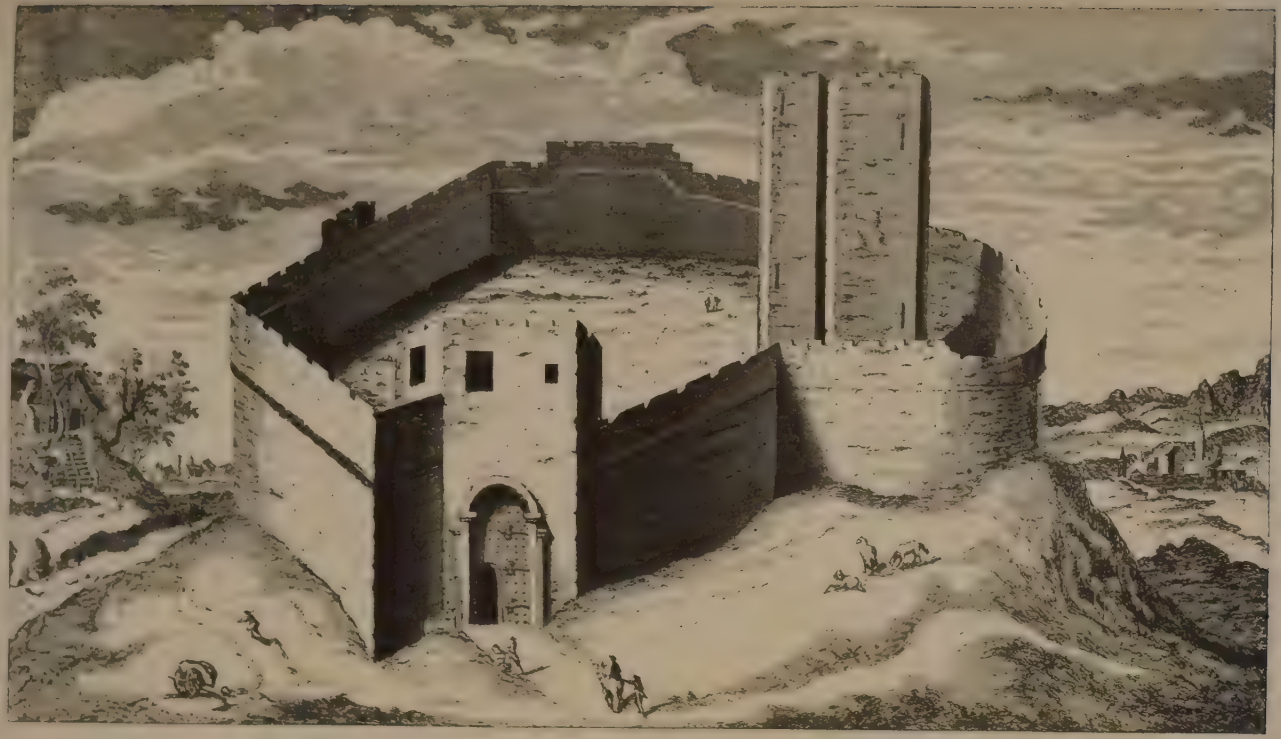
The porter received £3 0s. 8d. per annum. The porter of Clitheroe was not always a servile officer, as we find that a case was heard in the Duchy Court in September, 1504, from which it appears that Sir Richard Sherburn, Knight, caused a proclamation to be made in certain churches in Lancashire and Yorkshire commanding the King's subjects to muster, "in harnesse and fensable arraye," on Whalley Moor; but before the day fixed for the muster, another proclamation was made at the King's Court, "held at his Castle of Cliderowe," forbidding the meeting. Yet notwithstanding this John King, the porter and the King's tenant, "retained and sworn to his Grace," assembled with about three hundred men at the

place named and was consequently at the instance of Sir Piers Leigh, Knight, arrested and placed as a prisoner in the castle of which he was the porter. Two years later Robert Russheden held the office, but he was expelled from position by Sir Piers Leigh, Knight.

After the battle of Flodden in 1513, the castle began to lose its importance as a fortified stronghold, but still remained the civil centre of the honour. The chapel of St. Michael's had disappeared before the time of Edward VI.

In March, 1648-9, a body of two thousand militia, under Colonel Ashton, after refusing to disband, made an unsuccessful attempt to fortify themselves in Clitheroe Castle. After the ejectment of this force by Major-General Lambert, an order was passed on 27th March, 1649, to the effect that the Council of State should consider the propriety of demolishing Clitheroe Castle, but a medium course was adopted, and instructions were given which must very much have puzzled the recipients, viz., that they were "to put it in such a condition that it might neither be a charge to the Commonwealth to keep it nor a danger to have it kept against them," and they further directed "that the guns were to be sent to Liverpool." A few years prior to this (in 1644) Prince Rupert placed Captain Cuthbert Bradkirk, of Kirkham, in command of the castle, and with a view to a siege he repaired the gatehouse and laid in a stock of provisions, but, according to the testimony of a Parliamentarian writer, after the defeat of the Prince at York he put all the provisions into the draw-well, and then deserted the castle. What remained of the castle was now left to the destroying hand of time until only the crumbling ruin of the ancient keep was left standing.

A drawing, taken for the Society of Antiquaries, shows what was left in 1753. The surrounding wall, with its ancient Norman door, was still standing, but except the tower all the buildings had been demolished. In 1775



Clitheroe Castle in 1733.

only the ancient tower or keep remained, and within the area formerly surrounded by walls had been built an embattled house for the use of the steward of the honour.

Gleaston Castle

This castle stood a mile and a half from the waters of Morecambe Bay, and about the same distance from the parish of Aldingham; its origin and early history are alike unknown, but it is supposed to have been erected by a member of the Harrington family in the fourteenth or early fifteenth century, when it certainly existed, as at that period Robert, abbot of St. Mary and the Convent of Furness, granted to William Harrington, Lord of Aldingham, and Margaret, his wife, a right of way to and from the Castle of Gleaston, over the abbots' land to Barry, on foot, or with carriages and horses. Leland, writing in the time of Henry VIII., records that there was then at Gleaston "a ruine and walles of a castle," and Camden mentions its four towers of great height, which still remained. The yard enclosed by the walls was two hundred and eighty-eight feet long by one hundred and sixty feet wide.

In Queen Mary's time it formed part of the possessions of the Duke of Suffolk, who perished on the scaffold for high treason, his estate being confiscated. A view taken by Buck in 1727 shows at that date extensive ruins were still standing.

Thurland Castle

Some time in the fifteenth century, Sir Thomas Tunstall obtained permission to crenellate and embattle his house at Tunstall, no doubt deeming such a precaution necessary for his protection in those troubled times. Sir Thomas was one of the heroes of Agincourt. Another of the family, Sir Brear Tunstall, Knt., was slain on the field of Flodden (1513). In Sir Walter Scott's *Marmion* he is described as "The Stainless Knight."

Within the castle walls was a chapel in which was a chantry. Leland in the time of Henry VIII. mentions the "ancient castle or manor-place of stone of the Tonstalls." At the time of the Civil Wars the castle was owned by Sir John Gerlington, who held it against the Parliamentary forces, and only surrendered after a siege of seven weeks. By order of the Committee for Compounding, dated October 16th, 1646, the castle and demesne lands were let on a lease for thirty-one years. A moat seven feet wide surrounded the castle. At the beginning of the nineteenth century only the ruins of the old tower and the ancient gateway remained; the latter is believed to date back to the days of Edward III.

Hornby Castle

stood on a commanding situation on the rising ground above the village, and from the top of its watch-tower overlooked the lovely valley of Lonsdale. About 1830 the foundation of two very ancient round towers and the base work of the keep were taken up; one of the walls thus destroyed was thirty-six feet thick. The portion remaining is the large square tower or keep.

The earliest mention of this castle is in 1226, when Henry de Montbegon conveyed the manor and castle to Hubert de Burgh, Chief Justice of England. He afterwards fell into disgrace, but in 1233 the castle was restored to him. In 1319 it was reported that the castle walls enclosed one acre of land, but no rent was paid, because it stood in need of repair. Nevertheless, the King, on payment of a fine of £100, granted to Robert de Holland its custody.

In 36 Edward III. (1362-3) the castle and the manor were returned as part of the possessions of Henry, the first Duke of Lancaster. The second Duke of Lancaster appears to have granted them in fee to Robert Nevill, who died seised of them April 4th, 1413. He held them by knight's service. His heiress was his granddaughter,

Margaret, who had married Thomas Beaufort, Earl of Dorset. The property, in 1485, passed to Sir Edward Stanley. On one of the walls is engraved the motto of Sir Edward Stanley, "Glav et gant. E. Stanley."

Like all the other castles in the time of Henry VIII., Hornby was used as a prison, and in 1522 John Standish (the deputy keeper of Lancaster) had a suit in the Duchy Court against William Sclater, the Mayor of Lancaster, respecting false imprisonment at Hornby Castle.

From a survey taken in 1584 we get some details of the castle as it then was. It had several gates and wards outside its walls. The first gate was at the foot of the hill; round there were orchards and gardens; on the south-west side was the new park, where there were red and fallow deer. The castle itself is described as "verie faire built."

James I., in August, 1617, stayed here for two nights on his return from Scotland, and was royally feasted by the Earl of Cumberland.

In June, 1643, Hornby was garrisoned by a number of Cavaliers, when the castle was besieged by Colonel Ashton's troops, who were not very sanguine of success. One of the Parliamentary historians described it as "lowest at the Gate House and ever longer the castle goes the higher it riseth soe that it is impregnable anywhere but before the gates." Fortune favoured them, and they captured a soldier of the enemy, who told them that the weak point was a large window at the end of the hall, whereupon an attempt was made to burn down one of the gates, and having by this means driven the Royalist soldiers to that side of the castle, a detachment with "ladders, great hammers, ropes, and mattocks" entered through the window, and presently the place was surrendered.

Shortly after this orders were given to dismantle this castle, which orders were probably at least partially carried

out, and after this date it certainly became a ruin, which Thomas Gray, the poet (about 1760), mentions as "an ancient keep" then "only a shell, the rafters laid within it as for flooring." At one corner was "a single hexagon watch-tower fitted up in the taste of a modern summer-house with sash windows in gilt frames, a stucco cupola, and on the top a vast gilt eagle." In 1800 the castle was partly rebuilt, and in 1847 a modern Gothic hall erected on the site, and scarcely a trace of the old edifice is left.

Greenhalgh Castle

This is comparatively a modern castle, as it was not built until 1490, when Thomas, Earl of Derby, being doubtful as to the friendly feeling of some of the nobility living in the county, obtained the Royal consent to erect a stone building, and to embattle, turretate, crenellate, machicolate, and otherwise fortify it. At the same time he was allowed to enclose a park, and have in it free warren and chase. Leland describes Greenhalgh as a "pretty castle of the lords of Derby."

The following description of the size of Greenhalgh in 1645 was written by a contemporary:

Colonell Dodding with his Regiment with Major Joseph Rigbies companies laid siege to Grenall Castle keeping their maine Guard at Garstang towne into which were gotten many desperat Papists. Their Governor was one Mr. Anderton. They vexed the country thereabouts extreamly, fetching in the night time many honest men from their houses making a commoditie of it. . . . The leaguers had thought to have undermined the Castle and have blown it up with gunpowder and great cost was spent about it to pioners but to no effect. The ground was so sandy it would not stand. At last Mr. Anderton died and them there within being thereby discoradged, they were glad to come to a composition to deliver it up upon conditions—which were that they might go to their own houses and be safe. It was ordered that the Castle should be demolished and made untenable and all the timber taken out of it and sold which was done. And soe it lies ruinated. It was very strong and builded so that it was thought imprignable with any ordenance whatsoever having but one dore to it and the walls of an exceeding thickness and very well secured together.

EAST VIEW OF HORNBY CASTLE IN 1727.

From an Old Engraving.

The castle was never rebuilt. Pennant, in 1772, refers to "the poor remains of Greenhaugh Castle."

Liverpool Castle

Tradition says that the castle of Liverpool formed part of the Lancashire possessions of King John, but history is silent as to its owners until the early part of the fourteenth century, when Edward II. dated several charters (A.D. 1323) from Liverpool Castle, and from December 7th, 1358, to January 2nd, 1359, and from March 23rd to June 1st, 1360, Henry I., Duke of Lancaster, held his courts within its walls, and it is mentioned as part of his estate at the time of his death. No doubt he acquired the castle on the creation of the Duchy in 1351; in 1323 the herbage of Le *Toxstath* Park, which belonged to the castle of Liverpool, was let for £11 a year. By an *Inq. Post. Mort.* taken in 1347, the castle is described as having four towers, and the "trench and herbage" was valued at two shillings a year. Lying below the castle there was a borough in which were divers free tenants who held burgage tenements, for which they paid £8 8s. 0d. a year, also a market, ferry, park, and windmill. From the creation of the Duchy it remained a royal and ducal castle (except during the Commonwealth), until purchased by the Corporation in 1715. At one of the courts in 1358 and 1359 a grant was made of a messuage in "Castelstrete," which formerly belonged to Benedict le Stedeman, late Constable of Liverpool, and *inter alia* a permission for William de Liverpool to take two cartloads of "gostorum" (gorse) from Toxteth Park annually on paying 12d. The *Inq. Post. Mort.* of Henry, Duke of Lancaster, taken 26 Edward III. (1362-3), names "Lyerpoll" amongst his possessions, and in the accounts of the Receiver of the Duchy for the year 1441 there is a charge entered of £46 13s. 10d. for construction of a new tower on the south side. Between 1352 and

1446 we find notices of the appointment of constable of the castle, but in the latter year the office was granted to Sir Richard Mollineux and his heirs, and then became hereditary.

About the year 1442 the south-west tower was built, thus making three, which were known as the new tower, the prior tower, and the great tower.

Until the breaking out of the Civil Wars there is little to be noted respecting the castle. At the siege of Liverpool in 1643 the castle was occupied by the Royalists under command of Colonel Norris, who surrendered to the Parliamentary forces, who thus got possession of the ten guns used for the defence. At the second siege of Liverpool, in 1644, Colonel Moore had possession of the castle, from which he was driven by Prince Rupert, who for some days made it his head-quarters. On August 20th following, Liverpool was again besieged, and, after a fortnight's resistance, was surrendered. During these repeated attacks upon the town the castle must have severely suffered, and we have already seen that in 1649 materials for its repair were sent from Lancaster; but it appears that certain guns were also sent from Lancaster, as on November 9th, 1649, Colonel Birch, the Governor of Liverpool, complains that he has received the guns, but that their carriages had not been forwarded. On April 29th in the following year (1650) Colonel Birch was ordered to use such timber lying about Lathom House as he thought necessary for the further repairs of his castle.

Nine years after this (in 1659) Parliament passed an order that it was for the interest of the State that this castle with its walls and towers should be demolished and made untenable, and that, in consideration of this being done, the site thereof to be granted to Colonel Thomas Birch and his heirs. This order was only partially carried out, the great gatehouse and a portion

of the walls only being pulled down. When Charles II. was restored to the throne, and for many years afterwards, there were frequent disputes as to the ownership of the site, but finally in 1704 the Corporation succeeded in getting a lease of it from the Crown for fifty years. The Corporation (after the manner of such bodies) at once set about pulling down and making improvements, the result being that in 1725 the last vestige of the old castle was swept away to make room for St. George's Church, which has also in its turn been cleared away for street improvements. The oldest view of this castle was one drawn by Daniel King about 1656.

Liverpool Tower

was a fortified house of the Stanleys. Its early history is obscure, but in 1406 a royal grant was made to Sir John Stanley to crenellate and embattle it. In 1715 some of the rebels were confined in this tower, and it was used as a gaol for criminals and debtors down to 1811, and eight years afterwards it was pulled down entirely.

West Derby Castle

In the township of West Derby, on a site near to the church, and now known as Castle Field, was at an early period some kind of a castle, which in 1327 was reported to be in ruins, and the summer herbage of the land being worth £2 a year.

Peel Castle, or the Pele of Fouldrey

Between the eastern point of the Isle of Walney and the mainland on the north is the small island on which this old castle was erected. It occupied a commanding position, as ships could only get to Furness by passing through a narrow channel only available at high tide. It was probably built in the time of Stephen, and in 1126-7 it was given by the King to the abbots and monks of

Furness Abbey on condition that they kept it in repair for the defence of the country, which they did for nearly three centuries. In 1403 it was dismantled and seized by the Crown, and shortly afterwards an order was given the escheator for the county to amove the King's hands from the castle or fortress of "La Pele de Fotheray." Probably not long after this the monks repaired and partly rebuilt the castle, the ruins of which remain to this day. It was at Peel Castle that Martin Swart and Lambert Simnel landed from Ireland in 1487 with a band of two thousand Germans to take part in the battle of Stoke.

A century later (in 1588) we find the "Pylle of Folder" described as "an old decayed castell," and the harbour as "a dangerous place for landing." The poet Drayton, writing in 1619, refers to this castle:

> To Fournesse ridged Front, whereas the rocky pile
> Of Foudra is at hand, to guard our out-layd Isle
> Of Walney, and those grosse and foggy Fells awoke.

Part of the outer fortifications included six towers, the north-eastern one being fourteen feet square. Inside these walls were the small chapel and the principal tower or keep, which was three storeys high.

A drawing was sent to Samuel Pepys, Secretary to the Admiralty, in 1667, which shows the position of the fortress and of the islands in its vicinity. From the drawing made by T. Hearne, in 1783, it is clear that by this date much of the building had fallen to pieces, and a large detached block was almost all that was left.

Dalton Castle or Tower

Somewhere about the time of Edward III. the monks of Furness are supposed to have had a castle at Dalton. No mention of such a building is found in the *Coucher Book* of that abbey, and it is more than probable that it was originally built to serve as a courthouse and gaol,

PEEL CASTLE.

Drawn by T. Hearne from a sketch by Sir Geo. Beaumont, Bart
Engraved by W. Byrne and T. McLean, 1793.

and it certainly was used for these purposes in the fifteenth century, as appears from instructions given by Henry VIII. (1545-6) to the steward and receiver of the Duchy estates in Furness.

Whereas we be credibly informed that our castle or prison in Dalton which heretofore has always been used as a prison and common gaol, which said castle is now in great ruin and decay. . . . We intending the preservation thereof for the better quietness of our subjects there desire you . . . to repair our said castle as well in the towers as in the gaol and other places and to state what the repairs will cost and to certify what stores, lead and timber, etc., we have about our late monastery, available for this work.

In compliance with this a report was made to the effect that there were three chambers from the floor, one above another, and that these floors were so rotten from water, which had come through the roof, that none of the timbers could be again used. The thatch of the roof was decayed for lack of thatch; the windows, doors, and hinges were also rotten and "cankerred"; and, finally, the walls were partly decayed. To do all these repairs six fothers of lead were required. It was suggested that the lead should be taken from Furness, the timber got from the King's woods, and a ton of iron purchased for £4. The entire cost would be £20.

A rather poor drawing of this building, by W. Close, about 1805, will be found in West's *Antiquities of Furness*.

Wraysholme Tower

This is another of the fortified towers which guarded the bay of Morecambe. It was formerly several storeys high, the lower portion being windowless and the higher ones approached by a small spiral stone staircase. What is left of it now is used as a farm building.

Broughton Tower (in Furness)

What remains of this is partially built up to by the modern edifice. Its age is uncertain, and of its early

history nothing is known. It stands on a hill, and from the summit of the tower can be seen the water of Morecambe Bay and the river Leven. There is an engraving of it as it stood in 1786, when only the tower remained of the old buildings.

Turton Tower

Although tradition gives an early date to the origin of this fortified house, yet there is really nothing known about it before the description given of it by Camden in 1603, who states that it was first erected for defence, and that in the fourteenth century tournaments were held here, and that in 1594 it was entirely rebuilt of stone. Its renovation and restoration in 1835 destroyed all trace of the old structure. There is a good engraving of it in Philip's *Old Halls* as it was before it was rebuilt.

Lathom House and Hoghton Tower

(See article "The Siege of Lathom House"—Vol. I.)

Radcliffe Tower

Originally a strongly fortified manor-house, of which the earliest record is in 1358, when Richard Radcliffe, the high sheriff of the county, was described as of "Radcliffe Tower."

The tower was rebuilt in 1403, when Henry IV. granted to James de Redcliffe a licence to erect a manor hall of stone with two towers to be crenellated and the walls to be embattled.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century portions of the building were allowed to fall into decay, but in 1818 the old hall adjoining the tower is described by Whitaker as then being intact and a fine specimen of its kind. From a sketch taken by Thomas Barrett (*ante* 1820) it appears that the buildings formed two sides of a quadrangle, and that there was only one tower.

In Whitaker's *Whalley* is a view of the interior of the hall, and another was engraved by G. Hollis. A very good drawing, by Finden, of the ruins is contained in Roby's *Traditions of Lancashire*. Dr. Whitaker is responsible for the statement (accepted by Roby) that this is the place referred to in the Percy ballad, "The Lady Isabella's Tragedy."

Hoghton Tower

(See article "Hoghton Tower," page 272.)

Bury

Leland, in his *Itinerary*, written in the time of Henry VIII., says that there was then the ruins of a castle near to the parish church, which corresponds with its reputed site now known as Castle Croft, and where from time to time traces of an ancient foundation wall have been found and coins from the mints of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth. Probably it was an old donjon or keep, the history of which is uncertain.

Broughton Tower (Amounderness)

was built as a fortified manor-house by one of the Singletons. In the sixteenth century it was a strongly built house, well suited for defence, and surrounded by a moat. The last remains of the place were taken down in 1800. In 1515, during a family feud, one of the parties entered "the chief place or tower," and kept possession *vi et armis*. They also broke into the chapel there, and placed "gownnys (guns) crossbowys and other artillery of wer," and when the other parties appeared they "caused a bagpipe to play and in great deryson daunced." After this there was a good deal of shooting, but ultimately the aggressors were bound over to keep the peace. No drawing of this ancient tower has been preserved.

We have now, in a necessarily brief manner, sketched the outline history of the old Lancashire castles and towers, and endeavoured to show what a powerful factor they were in far distant days, when every owner of a large manor, for the safety of his family and his relatives, was obliged to entrench behind thick fortresses of stone, which could only be approached by the drawbridges which crossed the moats surrounding the castles, and thus gave access

> To the embattled portal arch . . .
> Whose ponderous grate and massy bar
> Had oft rolled back the tide of war.

But in times of peace the courtyards of these old buildings had been the scene of many a grand tournament and festive show, witnessed by fair ladies with approving smiles, and in the banquet halls kings had been feasted right royally.

When the Civil Wars were over and peace was restored, gradually these old strongholds were dismantled and allowed to fall into ruins or were entirely destroyed. The days of old castles were over, and the descendants of their sturdy founders began to realize that in England every man's house was his castle, to defend which he always had at his command the strong hand of the law, and required no crenellated tower nor embattled walls.

ORMSKIRK TOWN AND CHURCH

By James Bromley, J.P.

The Genesis

THE early charters make no allusion to a saintly dedication of the church; in them it is always styled the Church of Ormskirk. That some Orm was connected with *Ormskirk* is evident, but his personality is entirely conjectural. Both the prefix and suffix of the name are unquestionably Norse, and amongst the many theories that have been broached respecting this spectral Scandinavian, the one usually adopted is that of Ormerod, who in his *Parentalia* provides sponsors for the place, though in a nebulous manner, in the personalities of Orm fitz Ailward or his ancestor, Ormus Magnus. On this statement Mr. William Farrer, in his notes to the Foundation Charter of Burscough Priory (*Lancashire Pipe Rolls*) remarks:—

> It is a generally recognised fact that a church and parish existing in the twelfth century (as the charter itself shows Ormskirk was) were of Saxon or pre-Conquest foundation. The tradition, if such ever existed, that Ormskirk was founded by, and derived its name from, the above-mentioned Orm is the wild invention of a credulous and uncritical mind, and can only be perpetuated by such.

In the Pipe Rolls of King John are several Orms of no very great standing, but the only one directly connected with Ormskirk, and possibly a descendant from the founder, *facilis descendus est*, "Orm de Ormeskierk," had his cattle seized, and was either hanged or outlawed, it is not clear which, anno 1202-3.

There is, however, good reason to believe that the place-name is much older, and that the founder lived in the locality.

There are many indications that a considerable Norse colony was settled round Martin Mere, an inland lake formerly twenty miles in circumference, and connected with the sea, and that the colony gradually spread over the country bounded by the rivers Alt and Douglas. On both these rivers the name of the Norse Jotun, "Ægir," is still found in a corrupted form, to mark the extent of the tidal bores, and between them many personal names of Norse origin yet exist; whilst the Ordnance Survey of 1845 and the tithe maps contain a great number of place and field names from the same source.

The fact that about twenty-five dug-out boats, varying in length from eighteen to twenty-five feet, have been got out of the soil since the mere was drained, and the probability that others may yet be found in it, seems to suggest a numerous colony, which in the course of years, as the mere silted shallow, was considerably reduced by the return of the stronger men to their old country, leaving the miserable residue to become the spoil of their conquerors and villains of the soil.

The charters of the Scarisbrick family, those of Burscough Priory, and others, record sales of whole families with the land around the mere, and the frequency of the surnames Bond and Freeman, for villain and manumitted slave, in the neighbourhood, especially in and about Southport, where the former is perhaps the commonest of all surnames, is strong evidence of the correctness of this surmise.

With these proofs of a large Norse colony around Martin Mere, it is a credible inference that one of the head men in it, Orm, pitched on the nearest hill, two miles away, as the best site for his residence and private chapel, around which the town slowly accumulated, and hence we may date the origin of Ormskirk about the end of the ninth century with some confidence.

NEW ES PU... PUTNEY

Ormskirk Town and Church

In corroboration of this thesis the following extract from a private communication which the well-known Norse scholar, the Rev. John Sephton, kindly permits the writer to quote, will interest the reader: —

Ormskirk does not appear in *Domesday Book*. The earliest mention of it is in the Foundation Charter of the Priory of Burscough, which dates from the time of King Richard I., *circa* A.D. 1190. As the charter speaks both of Ormskirk and the church of Ormskirk, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the parish was then an old parish, and had come into existence at least as early as the second half of the tenth century, when provisions relating to parishes were passed, through the guidance of the ecclesiastical advisers of King Edgar the Peaceful. *Orm* is a personal name, and a not uncommon one in early Scandinavian and Icelandic records. In the *Landnama-bok* (the *Domesday Book* of Iceland), thirty persons or thereabouts of that name occur among the early settlers of the island. Through the Danish invasions of England in the ninth century, and the settlements of Danes and Norsemen, the name would readily be introduced into this country, especially in the east and north, and in fact it occurs several times in old English records. The Scandinavian *Orm* is the same word as the English *Worm*, and its use as a personal name probably points to a remote past when the practice of serpent worship prevailed. The compound word Ormskirk has given rise to various conjectures. It has been supposed to represent a church built by some great sea-warrior or Wicking, who, after scouring the seas, and planting his name on Ormeshead and Wormshead, retired to Lancashire and there built the church in repentance for his evil ways. Or again, that Orm was some northern saint or deity whom the Scandinavian settlers in Lancashire desired to honour by dedicating a church to him. Or again, that the church was built by some great landowner of Norman or Plantagenet times, and the original name of the parish was changed to commemorate him, and so disappeared. In answer to these conjectures, it is perhaps sufficient to say that no records, Scandinavian or English, mention such a Wicking as Orm is supposed to be; that there is no Scandinavian deity or saint of the name; and lastly, that it does not appear to have been an English or Scandinavian custom for a wealthy builder to attach his name to a church, or for ecclesiastical authorities to permit it. Another conjecture may be put forth. Orm may have been a member of a neighbouring Norse or Danish settlement, converted by Celtic missionaries, who, on his conversion, built, after the manner of Norwegian or Icelandic freeholders, a little church for himself and his family near his homestead. Or he may have turned hermit, and, like the Irish hermits, built a "cell." Such a church or cell naturally became the centre of the religious life of the district, and local Celtic custom gradually attached the name of its

founder, as a local saint, to the building. The history of the Celtic churches shows many cases in which the local founder of a church has been handed down to posterity in the modern name of a parish.

As Mr. Sephton remarks, Ormskirk is not mentioned in *Domesday Book*. This omission is almost certainly owing to it having no taxable value, as the following evidence seems to show. Leland, in his *Itinerary*, 1540, says it had "no river by yt, but mosses of ache side"; and from a deed of settlement, 1562, of the Halsall estates, in the bordering parishes, it appears that out of a property of 18,000 acres 9,000 of them were furze, heath, moor, moss, bog, morass, open greens, and wood. What Ormskirk consisted of at the date of the great survey five centuries earlier, the names of some of the streets in the very centre of the old town even now furnish some indication—Meerebrook and Moor Streets, Moorgate, The Grove, The Stiles, Hants (Ghosts), Moss, and Green Lanes, whilst a selection from those in the suburbs is even more suggestive —Dane Lane, Norman's Heys, Swartbreck, Scarth Hill, Grimshaw Lane, Ormesher, Hoskar and Warpers Mosses, Agirgarth, all of Scandinavian derivation, and the last from one of the Norse Jotuns. A few of the more significant topographical names may be added—Gretbye (great waste) Hill and Grove, Westhead (head of the Waste), Tinklers (Gypsies) Hill, Brackenthwait, Morecroft, Theikethethe, The Heath, Great and Little Wil(d)emor, Barren Moor and Meadow, Oozey Earth, Gorsey Acre, Berry's Gorse, Thistle Hey, Bleak Hill, Bromylegh, Ruff, Marsh, Frog, and Dark Lanes. There are not less than twenty Mosses recorded, and innumerable moors, commons, meres, and woods; amongst the last, as is proved by a charter of the Duke of Lancaster at Liverpool Castle, 26th April, 1310, "The Duke's Forest," in Halsall.

All these place-names are confined within the ancient parish of Ormskirk, the outlying portions of which, now separate parishes, nearly surround the present one, leaving only Halsall and Aughton as its boundaries on the south and west.

The state of Halsall in 1562 has already been described, and in Aughton, immediately outside Ormskirk, are Cleives (cliffs) Hills, The Devil's Wall, with its curious tradition of the Ormskirk man who outwitted the devil himself (*vide* a scarce book, *Legends of Lancashire*, 8vo, London, 1841), and Aughton Moss, a vast common on which Ormskirk freeholders had subsequently allotments, a curious instance of poaching on another parish; the Ormskirk races were for many years held on it, and for even a longer period the county militia mustered there. The trenches of the Parliamentary troops can still be traced on it, and the Ordnance Survey of 1845 shows "Cromwell's Well" and "The Field of Forty Fights," for the Roundheads were encamped here for some years, the staff being quartered in Ormskirk, and here they inflicted two disastrous defeats on their Royalist foes, the captures of officers being great on both occasions.

This evidence seems to conclusively account for the omission of Ormskirk from the *Domesday Survey*, and the surmise of Mr. Sephton that the church was then only a family chapel or cell may be the reason why the nearest church named in the great survey is twelve miles off, at Walton-on-the-Hill.

The Town

"All ways lead to the church," and those that did so, it may pretty safely be conjectured, are the oldest in the town. Under this category come Green Lane, Church Fields, Church Street, The Stiles and their continuation Lidyate (Lychgate) Lane, now Derby Street, which led to the east churchyard gate. Scarcely a tradition of this covered gate now exists, as it is replaced by an iron one, but the following extracts from the churchwardens' accounts prove the fact:—

20th June 1665 pd for repaire of ye Churchegate, pullee and cheane 10d
March 25th 1667 for five linkes for ye Churche gate 3d.

As Church Street gradually extended itself along the moor towards the ancient and important market town of Wigan, it became Moor Street, and this straight road being crossed about its centre by the highway between the royal castles of Lancaster and Liverpool, which, as it became built on, formed Burscough and Merebrook Streets—the latter now known as Aughton Street—the intersection formed what has for ages been known as The Cross, around which, in three of the streets, the market place clustered.

The mediæval town consisted only of the streets named above, but the date of the grant of a market to the prior and canons of Burscough, 1286, and the peculiar formation of the market place, seems to indicate that the prehistoric town was a mere assemblage of houses around the church, and that, even at this date, buildings had spread only about three-quarters of the way down Church Street.

Several charters of Burscough Priory show that this community had acquired considerable, though now undefinable, property in the town, and it is probable that this included the site of the market place, the original confines of which are still shown by the considerable set-back of the building line in three of the principal streets, though on one side only.

The grant of a market from Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, is dated at Lancaster 29th September, 14 Edward I. (1286), and in it Thursday is the day named, a fixture which has continued for more than six centuries, and still abides. The wording of this charter is not very clear, but it seems to be the first grant of the market, though it would appear that the grant of the fairs had been acquired direct from the same king a few years earlier. From the establishment of the market and fairs may be dated the commencement of the rise of Ormskirk, which in the seventeenth century had attained its halcyon days as the capital of this district. Several lords and

scions of nobility, local gentry and their widows having town houses in it, and the county quarter sessions being held there.

Earlier across the ancient site of the market place, *en route* for the royal castle of Liverpool, had passed Kings John and Edward II. and Henry and John of Gaunt, Dukes of Lancaster, and Kings Henry VII. and James I., Prince Rupert and Sir Thomas Fairfax on their way to Lathom House. Indeed, it is more than probable that a man greater than them all, "the immortal Shakspere," had trod those old streets. It is a fact that Shakspere was a member of Lord Leicester's company of actors, and that Henry, fourth Earl of Derby, arrived at Lathom House May 8th, 1587; while in the Derby household books, under the date July, 1587, it is recorded, "on Thorsdaye — My L of Leycesters plaiers plaied; on Fryday they plaied againe." This company the very next year passed under the control of the earl's son Ferdinando, Lord Strange, and in January, 1588, there is the entry, "On Saturday—players wente awaie"; January, 1589, "Sondaye—that nyght the plaiers plaied." "Mondaye—at nyghte a playe was had in the Hall, and the same nyghte My L Strandge came home." February, 1590, "this Saturdaie Players played at nyght." These performances were held at Lathom House, and Lord Strange seems to have been present at them all.

Before the sixteenth century the extensive commons around the town began to be invaded primarily by the dukes and the lords of the manor's windmills. In the 9th and 36th years of Elizabeth (1567-94), there were four of these on the wastes—"Grippie Mylne" on Gretbye Hill, the great common; "Our Ladye's Mylne" on Tinkler's Hill near by; "Crosse Halle Mylne" on the hill called "Le Knolle," on the moor; and on the same moor a mile nearer, and almost in the town—now Dicconson Street—was "Bradshawe Mylne"; but all these have disappeared.

The ducking-stool was in "The Great Town Field" at the edge of the brook separating Ormskirk from Aughton, on the west side of Aughton (then Merebrook) Street, till removed in 1780.

In "The Little Town Field," on the opposite side of Aughton Street, was the dungeon, or "Stone Jug," in the form familiarized by George Cruikshank's illustration to *Jack Sheppard*, until taken down at the end of the eighteenth century. There is in the Court Leet accounts of the seventeenth century a payment of £73 for rebuilding this dungeon, and "Dungeon Cottages" in Chapel Street would appear to have been built with the old materials. Alongside the old dungeon was a pillory and whipping-post of the usual form.

The stocks were originally movable and stored in the church, but they seem to have been set up at the church gates, on the Cross, and at the Fishstones in the Market Place in Aughton Street as the constable ordered; finally they were of cast iron, and a fixture at the principal churchyard gate until their disuse about sixty years ago.

Edward Stanley, of Moor Hall, Aughton, was lord of the manor of Ormskirk, and as such occasionally resided at the Mansion House, still standing, though much altered, in St. Helen's Road, near Moor Street.

He it was who commenced selling building sites on the commons, and deeds in the writer's collection prove sales on the Great Common 1587, in the Great Town Field 1606-42, and in the Little Town Field 1625-58. "God's Providence Cottages," on Scarth Hill, now pulled down, and a stone cottage, still standing on Tinkler's Hill, with the inscription, "God's Providence is our inheritance," initials and the date 1690, are memorials of the plague which last afflicted Ormskirk in 1687. The dedication stone of the former cottages has been preserved, and on it the same legend is ushered in by "Surely," but the date is 1691, with different initials.

Amongst the features of the ancient town which have disappeared or been altered past recognition are the Cockpit and the Club House, the site of which, in a wedge-shaped, narrow street called Cock House Lane, is shown on the Ordnance map of 1845, and is thus alluded to by Squire Blundell, of Crosby:—

1704, Feb. 8th. I went to Ormskirk cocking, being two days fight for a plate. Mr. Blundell, of Ince, won it.

1708, July 19th. I went to Ormskirk sessions, where Mr. Molineux, of Bold, Mr. Trafford, Mr. Harrington, I (etc.) compounded to prevent conviction. We appeared in court before Sir Thomas Stanley, Dr. Norris, and Mr. Case, all J.P.'s. We Catholics that got off our convictions dined together at Richd Woodses. After dinner we went to the New Club House, and thence came back to Rich. Woodses and drunk punch with Sir Thos. Stanley.

Sir Thomas, of whom this pleasant story speaks, was of Bickerstaffe, a direct ancestor of the present Earl of Derby, and Richard Woodses was the Queen's (Elizabeth's) Head in Moor Street, then belonging to that family, but now quite a modern building. The Cockpit has been destroyed, but the Club House still stands, in the altered form of cottages, fronting St. Helens Road, and "Cocker's Yard," in Chapel Street, shown on the same map, perpetuates the residence of the man who had charge of the fighting cocks in the arena. Chapel House, at the end of Chapel Lane, an old stone residence, now muffled up in cement, is so named from being the registered preaching-place of the Presbyterians. It was first occupied as such by Nathaniel Heywood, the ejected vicar of Ormskirk, in 1662, till his death in 1677. The chapel itself, in which Oliver and Nathaniel Heywood both officiated, has been recently pulled down.

Half-way on the west side of Aughton Street is a stone house, now coated with plaster, which bears on a gable panel the motto "*Vivere in excelsis melius*" above the date 1661, and the initials $\frac{E}{I\,D}$ These signify that John Entwistle, of Foxholes, Rochdale, and Dorothy Holt,

of Stubley, his wife, built the house. They lived in it for many years, died there, and were both buried intramurally at Ormskirk church.

The Town Hall, at the bottom of Church Street, on which is still a full display of the arms of Edward, twelfth Earl of Derby, the celebrated cock fighter, his initials and the date 1779, probably occupies the site of a much older municipal building. It is now altered into shops, but on it formerly hung the firebell, dated 1684, now in the clock tower of the Market Place, and the town clock, in all the glory of black and gold, projected from it like an inn sign. The large hall upstairs was the official home of the magistrates and Lord Derby's Court Leet, in which were held public meetings and balls, and under an arcade of the ground floor beneath was the butter and corn market. The regalia of the Court Leet was kept at the Town Hall, a list of which, dated 1798, is interesting:—

Two spears with brass heads (undated). "The Constable of Ormskirk's Staff 1703" surrounding the Stanley crest, of heavy wood 5½ ft. long, with three bands and massive silver head (one of different shape is recorded in 1677). "The Constable of Ormskirk's Staff bought by A. Wilkinson in 1790," 4 ft. long, with silver head. Two oak javelins with brass hatchet heads, on one side an etching of the church, and on the other "S. Walmsley Constable of Ormskirk 1798," surmounted by the Eagle and Child crest."

There are, however, more of these javelins yet in existence, some in private keeping.

This Court Leet was the governing authority of the town until 1851.

Many of the older inns bore heraldic signs, emblems of the neighbouring gentry, though only two of these now remain, but the names of the others evince their former existence. "The Buck i' th' Vine" is the crest of the Bradshaws, of Haigh Hall, now represented by Lord Crawford; "The Wheat Sheaf" of the Hesketh of Rufford, "The Talbot" of the Talbots of Bashall, related to the Stanleys of Cross Hall, and frequent visitants at

Ormskirk races; "The White Swan" was the crest of the Athertons of Brekerstaffe; "The Eagle and Child" in Burscough Street, now a shop, and "The Old Eagle and Child" in Church Street, bore the crest of the Lathoms, now that of the Stanleys; "The Legs of Man," the arms of that lordship, was in Moor Street, but its place now knows it no more. All these, except the two first, commemorate the connection of the town with the Stanley family and its relatives. The most incomprehensible name, however, is "The Snig's Foot" in Church Street, though it seems to be a humorous transposition of the crest of Halsall of Halsall—"a snake's head, erased." The North Road going through the town has also left its memorials in "The Red Lion" and "The Three Crowns."

Less than a century ago thirty coaches a day and numerous post chaises rattled through the streets, mostly changing horses in the town and bound for the north. Pace-egging and "lifting" were in full vogue at Easter; the latter, to which the writer himself has had to submit, being locally known as "hueing," from the triumphant cries which accompanied the aerial flight. The Whit-week and Mid-September fairs, which are now almost obsolete, were then in their zenith, and earlier the quarter sessions brought Lord Brougham and other eminent pleaders and crowds of people to the town. A record of the 7th June, 1641, shows that on that one day about fifteen hundred recusants of the Hundred—Roman Catholics and Dissenters over sixteen years of age—of whom more than two hundred belonged to the ancient parish of Ormskirk, were assessed for some subsidies of the period. The weavers and shoemakers paraded the town on the 25th October, carrying on high their patron St. Crispin, and the ropers on the 25th November with St. Catherine and her wheel, accompanied by rough music and blazing tar barrels.

Many of the old records refer to "The Cross," but none to the existence of a material one; though there is

a tradition of a Quaker nailing a citation to it for those who persecuted his father to death to meet him at the bar of heaven. Whether the cross was a real one or merely the crossing of the streets remains therefore a debatable point, though, following the custom of the age, there can be little doubt that it was either a stone or wooden one, probably destroyed by the Parliamentarian soldiers.

In the constable's accounts for 1771 are items for repairs to the dungeon and the ducking-chair and a list of implements for punishment, including a cat-o'-nine-tails, a hand lock for the stocks, an iron bridle for scolds, and two pairs of handcuffs.

Ormskirk races, when held on Aughton Common, were attended by many noblemen and the *élite* of the county, and on their decline in popularity the hunt revived them spasmodically in the New Park, Lathom, until they were finally abandoned about half a century ago, when the staple trades of the town—silk and cotton hand-loom weaving, dyeing, and felt hat and rope-making—had become practically defunct and the factories had been closed.

"Ormskirk Medicine," a quack cure for hydrophobia, had a great reputation until exposed years ago; but the fame of the ancient town for gingerbread and cakes still continues to increase. No records exist of the discovery of gingerbread, but as Shakspere alluded to it in his plays, it is certain that it was a popular lollypop before his era.

Ormskirk has lost many picturesque features within living memory; most of the overhanging gables, the bowed shop windows, with their glazed half-doors and iridescent bull's-eye panes, and the seemingly necessary three steps, are gone; but even yet there is a charm in its ancient streets rarely found elsewhere.

The irregularity of the building line, sometimes houses leaving the passenger severely alone and the next moment elbowing him into the gutter; the dissimilarity of one

house to its neighbour, the fantastic disorder of the sky-line —all these excite the artistic sense to humorous enjoyment ; and even now there are few theatrical transformation scenes more striking or picturesque than the transition from the normal drowsiness of the town to the crowded bustle of High Change on market days. The knots of farmers and merchants in the streets, the canvas awnings of the scores of stalls, the clamour and vigorous actions of the vendors and quack doctors to induce the surging people to buy, the half-hundred chars-a-banc from Southport disgorging the mob of trippers, the motors and farmers' traps, and the quaint appearance of the streets and houses, all go to make up a scene of vigorous and picturesque life and movement now rarely met with.

The Church

The origin of this fane having been previously dealt with, a description of the fabric and its surroundings, with an outline of its history, is all that is now requisite.

The east end of the present church can be definitely recognized as the oldest portion of it, and standing as it does on the highest point of the nearest hill, which dominates all the flat country between Formby and the mouth of the Ribble, it probably occupies the site of the original small structure. What this was built of—possibly wattle and clay-daub—and the mutations through which the church passed, can only be matters of conjecture, for the earliest evidence of style in the present building takes us back no earlier than the twelfth century.

The dedication to SS. Peter and Paul cannot be found in any early charters ; there it is always styled the church of Ormskirk, and the direct way to it from the Norse settlement, to which it probably owes its origin, would be by the ancient field roads and paths over Battle Holmes, Marten Farm, The Pikes, and Norman's Heys.

A few other churches have both a tower and a steeple, but widely separated ; the proximity, however, of the

spire to the singularly majestic tower at Ormskirk exhibits an exterior arrangement unique in all Britain. This tower and the lower portion of the spire are original, and have not been "restored"; but, with these exceptions, the whole of the exterior walls of the church have been rebuilt at different periods, and show many variations from the earliest prints. The roofs have been considerably raised, and the tower and the spire proportionately dwarfed, as may be seen from the hood-moulds of the old roofs yet on the inside of the walls of the church, and the north aisle was originally covered by a lead flat, some feet lower than the present roof, part of the door leading on to it now showing on the inside of the church.

The tower walls bear the same mason marks as have been found at Burscough Priory, and enclose the tenor bell, with its original inscription therefrom, and probably the other bells recast from the debris, which makes assurance doubly sure that the tower was built after the destruction of the Priory, with the tooled stones from the church there, for the reception of its bells. The whole of this fine peal has been recast at different periods, with new legends, at the noted foundry of Rudhalls, of Gloucester, except the tenor bell, which, though recast in 1576, is still encircled by the original ornamentation and inscription on thin brass, each letter and ornament being separately riveted to the bell, the metal and ornamentation being very similar to some found on excavating Burscough Priory.

The tenor bell bears the following inscription:—

I S de B armig et G ux me fecerunt in
honore Trinitatis R B 1497.

and interspersed are the heraldic badges of the House of Lancaster, with floral devices and ornamental stops, while below, on the waist, is the date of the recasting, "1576." It would appear from this latter date that the bell was injured at the destruction of the priory belfry. "R B"

From an Old Engraving. ORMSKIRK CHURCH IN 1742.

was probably the bell-founder, as these initials are not those of either the Prior of Burscough or the Vicar of Ormskirk of that year. Of the seven other bells four are dated 1714, three 1774, and all are inscribed with the name of the founders or the officials of the church.

Two statements have recently been made respecting these bells, which a comparison of dates proves to be erroneous, one endeavouring to identify the "R B 1497" on the bell with "R B 1631" on an intramural gravestone, a difference of one hundred and thirty-four years; and the other of an inventory, 6 Edward VI. (1552), in which five bells are recorded as proof that they could not have been brought from Burscough Priory, though the priory had been destroyed twenty-five years previously before the death of Henry VIII. The three bells dated 1774, though cast at the same foundry, are, however, additions to the original peal. There are very few objects of interest in the churchyard. It contains a fine Carolean sundial, but no very early monuments or gravestones. One of the latter, lying at the base of the spire, informs the credulous reader of two centenarians buried in one grave. On a stone built into the wall under the east window are two rude and much worn figures, supposed to represent a man and a woman, and commonly called Adam and Eve, though the clothes suggest a post-Eden epoch. A minute inspection, however, shows that the hands of the man are chained, and the right arm of the supposed woman raised, and the more likely conjecture is that the stone has been one face of the quadrilateral base of the old font, that the dress of the supposed woman is that of a Roman soldier, and the figures those of Claudius Lysias, the chief captain, and Paul (one of the patron saints of the church) in prison (see Acts xxxi. 33).

The interior of the church is large, but covers exactly the same area as it did in 1503. It contains some interesting antique features, which, amidst the general overwhelming freshness, are apt to be overlooked. The Carolean font,

though the casual observer would suppose 1900 to be the period of its fashioning, was really first hewn in 1661, and has since been made as good as new. The centre line of the nave does not strike that of the tower or the west door, which arrangement is probably the result of the tower being built with more regard for access to the door on the limited rocky foundation than for symmetrical appearance. The Norman window, and the priest's watching window at the east end, the lower portion of the spire, with its fine lancet arches, at the west end, and the noble tower, are the oldest portions of the church, and from indications of style the north wall of the chancel would be twelfth century, the lower portion of the spire thirteenth century, and the tower, which appears to have been built with the tooled stones from Burscough Priory, is sixteenth century. Though these dates indicate that, with the exception of the tower, the church of the thirteenth century was the same length as it is now, it was then much narrower, and cruciform in plan until after the destruction of the Priory church, *circa* 1526, when the tower was built for its bells, and both aisles widened to accommodate its dispersed congregation, seating encroachment being made for the first time in the King's chancel, St. Peter's chantry being annexed for the present chancel, and the whole seating area uniformly benched with oak benches, many of which may now be seen in the Boston School of Art, U.S.A.

The arrangement of the church prior to 1526 was that the tower was unbuilt, the aisles were narrower, and the seats only came to the west end of the transepts. The pulpit stood at the south-west corner of the north transept, the high altar separating the crossing from the present chancel. The north transept, which was the chantry of Our Lady of Pity, founded 1516, was the sepulchral chapel of the Stanleys of Bickerstaffe, the direct ancestors of the present Earl of Derby. The south transept was the chantry of St. Nicholas, founded 1530,

and the sepulchral chapel of the Scarisbrick family. The chantry of St. Peter, one of the patron saints of the church, founded 1553, was behind the then high altar, occupying the area now covered by the chancel. The chantry of St. Mary Magdalene, founded 1492, was in the south aisle, and though the exact site cannot now be identified, it is on record that the built-up door led into it, and that it was then known as "the lyttle south churche." The chantry of Our Lady, founded 1366, occupied less than one-half of the area now covered by the Derby chapel, founded 1572, and a list of the names of four hundred and seventy-six parishioners who, on September 20th and December 21st, 1366, promised to subscribe to the endowment of Our Lady's altar, is now the earliest directory of the surrounding district.

At the bishop's visitation, 1547, the vicar, his curate, and three chantry priests of this church were present, though their altars are not named, but at that on the dissolution of the chantries, the following year, it is distinctly recorded that the commissioners found no furniture, plate, or vestments belonging to any of them, and the inference that these had been surreptitiously made away with is inevitable. The crossing between the transepts was known as "The King's Chancel," from the fact of Henry VII. having worshipped there during his month's sojourn with his stepfather-in-law, the third Earl of Derby, at Lathom House, 1495. None of these chantries and chapels had originally seating accommodation, but the whole area of the church was used for intramural burial. The only chapels now screened are the Scarisbrick and Derby chapels, the former with modern brass work, and the latter with an antique oak Elizabethan balustrade screen.

The heraldry of the church is particularly interesting, as by it alone the identification of nearly all the older monuments has been possible, and there are a few fine and curious brasses in it.

At the heraldic visitation, 1663, Geoffrey King, Pursuivant to Sir William Dugdale, Norroy King of Arms, made a drawing of the monuments then in the church, and the marginalia shows that several are now missing, and some which then occupied their right positions do not now.

All the brasses and monuments of the church were identified and described, with great detail, by the present writer in an illustrated paper, vol. xxii., N.S., *Historic Soc. of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 1906, which showed that their evidence contradicted several hitherto accepted historical statements.

The east window commemorates Nathaniel Heywood, the last Puritan vicar, ejected 1662. The earliest register records the burials of the last Prior of Burscough and some of his canons.

The general history of the church can be briefly summarised. From 1190 to August 22nd, 1285, it was served by some one of the canons of Burscough Priory as chaplains, but at the latter date it was raised into a vicarage by the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, then the diocesan, the emoluments being a stipend of £10, a house, and a small glebe, the right of presentation, and the ancient one of holding the markets and fairs in the town, being reserved for the prior and canons of Burscough, until on the destruction of the priory both passed to the Earldom of Derby. In the Valor of Pope Nicholas, 1291, the living is valued at £13 6s. 8d., and in that of Henry VIII., 1535, at £31 8s. 4d.; and probably to eke out this poor stipend there was subsequently added to it one of the four King's Preacherships of Lancashire, worth £50 per annum, which was lost during the Civil War. After the close of this internecine strife it was again considerably augmented by charges on the sequestrated estates of the Earl of Derby, principally through the direct petition of William Dunn, one of the two Puritan vicars, to the

Lord Protector in 1654; but as the daughter churches got created into separate parishes it has since gradually declined in value.

On October 28th, 1527, Ottiwell Houghton gave "to Owr Ladye's werke att Ormyskyrk 1s," and as traces of fresco work were found on the Norman window of the present chancel, it is probable that this was the period of general repair and decoration. In 6 Edward VI., 1552, 3rd October, an inventory of the church vestments shows —"1 cope of old green velvet, 2 copes of old blue silk, vestments of crimson velvet and green satin, and a tawney chalet with yellow crosses, 3 albs, 3 amices, 3 stoles, 3 girdles," etc. In the reign of Elizabeth, 1592, the last record occurs of penance in the church, the penitent, a tanner, having to stand on three Sundays in a white sheet, with a record of his sin pinned to it, and a lighted candle in his hand, subsequently getting absolution by paying to the priest a good sum of money for the poor, whilst the lady in the case, presumably for having none, was solemnly excommunicated. During the churchwarden period a three-decker pulpit for the vicar, the curate, and the clerk was put in the chancel and galleries over the aisles, comfortable pews being provided for all those who could pay for them, whilst the poor had to be content with a selection of the best of the old oak benches, and probably, for sanitary reasons, the walls and monuments of the church were whitewashed. The constables and churchwardens' seats stood each on one side of the alley at the extreme west end of the nave, and were raised above the others so that they could supervise the congregation.

The Vicarage

The first record of this and its glebe is in 1663. "First an old vicarage house, one bay of bearing, and a shippon, and two closes of land containing, by estimation, three or four acres, valued at £5 or £6

per annum, an estate in Burscough, and Moss land in Lathom." It is probable that no portion of this old house exists, for the present one, though folded up in cement, bears internal traces of early Georgian origin in its fine oak staircase and other fitments.

An unpublished list of the early ministers at Ormskirk, which the writer has compiled from the charters of Burscough Priory and other records, is interesting.

1217.—Henry, son of Allan, Chaplain of Ormyskyrke.
1230.—Ralph de Ormyskirke, Chaplain of Ormyskyrke.
1264.—Hugh, the Clerke of Ormyskyrke.
1280.—Robert, the Chaplain of Ormyskyrke.
1285.—August 22nd. Alexander, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, raised the curacy into a vicarage, reserving the right of presentation to the Chapter of Burscough Priory as previously.
1286.—Gervase, Vicar of Ormyskyrke (the first vicar).
1325.—Richard de Donyngton, probably brother of the then Prior of Burscough, with the same surname.
1340.—Alexander de Wakefield. He had long disputes with the Prior about the emoluments.
1490.—Hugh Hulme.
1505.—Henry Hill.
1527.—John Devyes.
1535.—Robert Madock. The last of the long line of the Canons of Burscough.
1547.—Ellis Ambrose.
1608.—Richard Ambrose.
1612.—William Knowles.
1615.—Henry Ambrose.
1646.—William Dunn. The first Puritan Vicar.
1657.—Nathaniel Heywood. Ejected August 24th, 1662.
1663.—John Ashworth. Non-resident.
1679.—Zachary Taylor.

The eighteenth century vicars require no recapitulation.

Nathaniel Heywood, the second Puritan vicar, in a letter to a friend, a month before his ejection, records the effect of an extraordinary storm on this vicarage house:—

> July 30th, 1662. About four o'clock in the afternoon there was a storm of dreadful thunder and lightning for a long time together, and in the town of Ormskirk and about it fell a great shower of hail in a terrible tempest, hailstones were as big as ordinary apples, some say nine inches in circumference; one stone I took up was about four inches after it had thawed in my hand. The hail broke all our glass windows westward; we have not one square whole at the back of the house—my share of the loss will amount to £10 at least.

He goes on to say that the damage was quite as bad all over the town and parish; the hail cut off the branches of trees, all the ears of standing corn, so that the crops were not worth reaping, and riddled the apples to pieces; and, he adds, "in half an hour all this hurt was done." William Blundell, the cavalier, alluded to this storm in his note-book, and corroborates the above statement, with the addition that the hail killed the birds. Incidentally Mr. Heywood states that his stipend was £30 a year, and £50 a year for the King's Preachership, founded by Queen Elizabeth.

The revulsion from the rigour of the Puritans to the license of the Restoration was extreme. The example set by the court of Charles II. soon permeated all classes of society, and the clergy, amongst whom was the Vicar of Ormskirk, frequented the drinking bouts, races, cock fights, and bowling matches of the period.

Barbara Villiers, one of the King's numerous mistresses, kept open house for more than a couple of months at Maghull Hall, and she attended the then fashionable bowling green at Sefton, where Lords Derby, Molyneux, Mountgarret, and a host of neighbouring squires formed her retinue, with the addition of the clergy for miles round. *Tempora mutantur!*

SOME EARLY LANCASHIRE AUTHORS

By C. W. Sutton, M.A.

IN this brief contribution an attempt is made to gather the names of authors identified by birth or residence with the County Palatine who flourished prior to the end of the sixteenth century. The space allotted to the article is too restricted to allow of the presentation of more than the most meagre particulars of the careers of the various writers mentioned, but anyone interested may refer to such readily accessible works as the *Dictionary of National Biography* and Gillow's *English Catholics* for fuller information.

We begin with Richard Ullerston, or Ulverston, who was born in the "Duchy of Lancaster," presumably at Ulverston, about the year 1360. He was a relative and pupil of Richard Courteney, Bishop of Norwich, and after studying at Oxford took holy orders on December 19th, 1383. He was a Fellow of Queen's College, and had the degree of Doctor of Theology in the University, and became Vice-Chancellor in 1394 and Chancellor in 1407. He was instituted to the rectory of Beeford, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, on June 1st, 1407, and it may be assumed that he resided there for the rest of his life. His will, dated August 1st, 1431, and proved December 13th in the same year, is printed in the East Riding Antiquarian Society's *Transactions* for 1903. Anthony à Wood styles him Canon of York.

He appears to have been a Wiclifite, and the only one of his writings that has been printed is a memorial

in favour of the reformation of the Church (*Petitiones pro Ecclesiæ Militantis Reformatione*, dated 1408, in Hardt's *Concilium Constantiense*). His other known works remain in manuscript, as follows: A treatise, *De Articulis Fidei*, 1409, in the possession of Lord Mostyn; *De Officio Militari*, in Corpus Christi College; *Expositions on the Song of Songs*, 1415, among the Magdalen College manuscripts; and *Defensiorum Dotationis Ecclesiasticæ*, 1415, in Exeter Cathedral library.

JOHN LEYLAND, or LELAND, called the elder, who acquired a wide reputation as a grammarian, is conjectured to have been born in Lancashire. He passed his adult life as a teacher in his own University of Oxford, and died at his residence at Vine Hall on April 30th, 1428. Living before the age of printing, his works were circulated in manuscript, some of them being now preserved in the Bodleian Library and in the cathedral libraries of Lincoln and Worcester. They include (i.) *Distinctiones Rhetoricæ;* (ii.) *Preterita et Supina Verborum*, 1414; (iii.) *Liber Accidentium;* (iv.) *Fundamentalis Instructio Puerorum.*

With THOMAS PENKETH we come to an author, or rather editor, whose works were printed in his lifetime. He came of a gentle family settled at Penketh, near Warrington, and was born probably about the year 1437. He became a monk of the Augustinian Order at the Warrington Friary, and studied at the University of Oxford, attaining high repute as an expounder of the philosophy of Duns Scotus, many of whose works he edited and published. It is said of him that he could reproduce the whole of them from memory if they should ever be lost. In 1469 he was Provincial of his order, and in 1473, when he was engaged in teaching theology at Oxford, was dubbed Doctor of Divinity. In the following year he accepted an invitation to be Professor of Theology in the University of Padua. Returning to

England in 1477, he was once more elected as Provincial of the hermit friars of the order of St. Augustine, and was installed in their house of Austin Friars in London. In 1483 he was involved, along with Sir Edmund Shaw, Lord Mayor of London, and his brother, Dr. John Shaw, a priest, in the plot of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III., to obtain the Crown. He has the distinction of being named by Shakespeare in *Richard III.* (Act iii., Scene vi.):

> Go, Lovel, with all speed to Dr. Shaw;
> Go thou to Friar Penker—bid them both
> Meet me within this hour at Baynard's Castle.

At Easter in the year following Richard's coronation he was called upon to preach a sermon at St. Mary's Hospital in favour of the King, but he somehow broke down and could not finish his discourse. He was awarded a pension of £10 a year for life. He died on May 20th, 1487, in the house of the Austin Friars, and was buried in their cemetery.

The period of the Reformation saw a number of earnest and vigorous Lancashire men engaged on one side or the other of the great controversy. Taking, first, the adherents of the ancient faith, we have the following authors:

The most prominent name is that of CARDINAL WILLIAM ALLEN, who was born at Rossall in 1532, and educated at Oriel College, Oxford. In 1556 he was chosen Principal of St. Mary's Hall in that University. This he gave up before he crossed over to Flanders in 1561 to take up his residence at Louvain. He came back to Lancashire in 1562 on account of ill-health. On his recovery he laboured incessantly for the faith, but was obliged in 1535 to seek refuge abroad, where he received priest's orders at Mechlin. He made a pilgrimage to Rome in 1567, and in the following year founded the English College at Douay. He possessed a remarkable

influence, and became an unrivalled leader of his co-religionists. In 1587 he was created a cardinal, and from that date until his death in 1594 lived in Rome. His writings were numerous and important, and include: *A Defence and Declaration touching Purgatory*, etc., 1565; *Apology for the Seminaries*, 1581; and *A True, Sincere, and Modest Defence of English Catholics*, 1584. His *Letters and Memorials* were edited and published in 1882.

JOHN CHRISTOPHERSON, a native of Ulverston, born about 1520, was educated at Cambridge, and was Fellow in succession of four colleges, and in 1553 was constituted Master of Trinity. During the reign of Edward VI. he retired abroad, out of harm's way, being a sturdy adherent of the Roman Catholic Church. When Queen Mary came to the throne he returned home, and was subsequently installed Dean of Norwich, elected Prolocutor of Convocation, and finally consecrated Bishop of Chichester in November, 1557. On November 27th, 1558, shortly after Queen Elizabeth's accession, he preached a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, in which he vehemently attacked a sermon delivered on the preceding Sunday by Dr. Bill. For this sermon he was summoned before the Queen and cast into prison, where he died within a month afterwards. He was buried on December 28th, 1558, at Christ Church, London. It is recorded that five bishops assisted at the funeral mass. Bishop Christopherson was reputed to be a pious, moderate, and learned man, and free from the charge of persecuting Protestants. He was a liberal benefactor to Trinity College. His earliest known work is *Jephthah: a Tragedy*, in Latin and Greek, 1546. His Latin translation of *Philo Judæus* was published at Antwerp in 1553. In 1554 he dedicated to Queen Mary a small book with the following long title: *An Exhortation to all menne to take hede and beware of Rebellion, wherein are set*

forth the causes that commonly move men to rebellion, with a discourse of the miserable effectes that ensue thereof, and of the wretched ende that all Rebelles comme to, moste necessary to be redde in this seditiouse and troublesome tyme.

LAURENCE VAUX, Warden of Manchester Collegiate Church, was born at Blackrod, in the parish of Bolton-le-Moors, in 1519 or 1520, and is supposed to have had his early education at the Manchester Grammar School. Thence he went to Oxford. He was ordained priest at Manchester in 1542, and was soon after one of the Fellows of the college, and succeeded George Collier as Warden in 1558. On the accession of Elizabeth, Vaux, seeing how things were likely to turn out, ran away from the college, and took with him its muniments and plate, consigning them to the care of one or other of his intimate friends and co-religionists. The story goes that Vaux fled to Ireland and fell among thieves, who robbed him. He was, however, soon back in England, and in 1561 was said by the Commissioners to be "lurking in Lancashire." Thereupon he found it expedient to go to Louvain, where he had the company of many learned English co-religionists, and where, it is said, he kept a school for English boys. He was afterwards chosen by the Pope to undertake a mission to England. An interesting letter, dated November 2nd, 1566, written by Vaux for circulation among his Lancashire friends, exists in the State Papers, and is printed in Dr. Law's introduction to Vaux's *Catechism*. His labours in Lancashire attracted the attention of the Government, but he managed to return to his pupils at Louvain before the Commissioners came down. He was there apparently in 1567, when his *Catechism* was published. He was admitted to the Augustinian Order in 1573. Before taking this step he executed a will and other instruments, showing that, besides leaving the archives and other property of the college with friends in Lancashire, he

had carried off to Louvain some valuable vestments and church plate. In 1580, when he was sub-prior of his order, he was summoned by the Pope to join in a new missionary expedition to England. On arriving in this country he was betrayed and arrested at Rochester. He died in the Clink prison, Southwark, in 1585. He was long remembered in Manchester as "a man well beloved and highly honoured," and as "laborious, learned, and in his way devout and conscientious." As an author he is known by his *Catechisme, or a Christian Doctrine, necessarie for children and ignorant People*, printed originally at Louvain in 1567, and again at Antwerp in 1584. The latter edition was reprinted by the Chetham Society in 1885, with a valuable introductory memoir by T. G. Law.

JOHN SANDERSON, a Lancashire Roman Catholic, went to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1554, and after taking his degrees was made Fellow of his college, but was expelled in 1562 for suspicious doctrine and contumacy. He then went abroad, and in 1570 was enrolled amongst the English students at Douay. He took the degree of D.D. there, after being ordained priest. In 1580 he was Professor of Divinity at the English college at Rheims, and was appointed Canon of Cambrai Cathedral. He died at Cambrai in 1602, "bearing a high reputation for sanctity and learning." His only separate publication was *Institutionum Dialectorum libri quatuor*, Antwerp, 1589, reprinted at Oxford, 1594, 1602, and 1609. It was dedicated to his fellow-Lancastrian, Cardinal Allen.

The Protestant authors of the sixteenth century were more numerous, and include two who suffered martyrdom for their faith. These were John Bradford and George Marsh.

JOHN BRADFORD was born about 1510 in the parish of Manchester, the precise spot being undefined. After leaving Manchester Grammar School he went to France

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in the service of Sir John Harrington, and in 1544 acted as deputy-paymaster to the King's forces. In 1547 he began to study law at the Middle Temple, but soon turned his attention to divinity, and sold his jewellery and gave the money to the poor. A year later he entered Catharine's Hall, Cambridge, and was afterwards Fellow of Pembroke Hall. His abilities and stirring, passionate earnestness marked him out for distinction. On being ordained by Bishop Ridley, he entered his household as one of the bishop's chaplains, and was eventually appointed one of the King's six chaplains in ordinary. Soon after the accession of Queen Mary, he was cast into prison for preaching what were called seditious sermons. While in Newgate he wrote his treatise on *The Hurt of Hearing Mass*. After being imprisoned for about a year he was, in January, 1554-5, brought before Bishops Gardiner, Bonner, and other prelates, and condemned as an obstinate heretic. His execution was delayed for about six months, and on July 1st, 1555, he was taken to Smithfield and there burned at the stake before a great concourse of sympathisers. A complete collection of his various writings, which had great popularity after his death, was published by the Parker Society, 1848-53.

The second martyr, GEORGE MARSH, wrote several letters, after the manner of the apostolic epistles, which were printed in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, and were long treasured by the Puritans of Lancashire. He was born at Dean, near Bolton, and after his early schooling became a farmer. This occupation he quitted on the death of his wife, when he entered himself at the University of Cambridge. In due course he graduated, and was ordained. He served curacies in Leicestershire and London. In 1554, in the time of Queen Mary, he proposed to leave the country, and went into Lancashire to take leave of his relations. While there he preached at Dean and elsewhere, and soon got into

trouble. Hearing that a warrant was out for his arrest he gave himself up to Mr. Barton, at Smithells Hall, near Bolton. He then underwent examination before the Earl of Derby at Lathom House, and refused to conform to the Church of Rome, whereupon he was committed to prison at Lancaster Castle. A graphic account of his examinations and imprisonment is given in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*. He was afterwards removed to Chester, and again examined on the charge of heresy and blasphemy. In the end he was condemned to execution, and the sentence was carried out on April 24th, 1555, at Spital Boughton, near Chester, where he was burnt at the stake. The Bishop of Chester (Cotes), in a sermon preached in the cathedral, affirmed that Marsh was a heretic, burnt like a heretic, and was a fire-brand in hell. Among the traditions connected with Marsh is the well-known one that an impression of a man's foot on a stone step at Smithells Hall was made by the martyr when asserting his innocence.

Very different men were Henry Standish, Bishop of St. Asaph, and his nephew, John Standish, Rector of Wigan.

HENRY STANDISH, one of the Standishs of Standish, became a Franciscan friar when young, and studied both at Oxford and Cambridge, subsequently serving the high offices of warden of the Franciscan house at Grey Friars and provincial of the order. When Henry VIII. came to the throne he preached at Court, and was chief of the King's spiritual council. The King protected him when he got into trouble with Convocation for taking the side of the laity in a dispute with Abbot Kitterminster. Later on he had the temerity to attack Erasmus. He was appointed Bishop of St. Asaph in 1518, and in February, 1523-4, went on a political embassy to Hamburg. Wolsey afterwards employed him as an examiner of heretics. He at first opposed the divorce of Catherine from Henry, but when that was

accomplished he assisted at the coronation of Ann Boleyn. Five weeks before his death (which took place on July 9th, 1535) he renounced the papal jurisdiction. He had attained a very advanced age. His claim as an author rests upon two pieces, named by Anthony à Wood, namely: *Sermons to the People*, and a *Treatise against Erasmus: his Translation of the New Testament.* There is, however, no proof that they were printed.

JOHN STANDISH was born about 1509, and entered Brasenose College, Oxford, when fifteen years of age, and had influence enough to be elected scholar or probationer-fellow of Corpus Christi College four years later. He was proficient in logic and philosophy, took his degrees in Arts, and was ordained. By "drudging much in the faculty of divinity," as Anthony à Wood says, he proceeded to the degree of D.D. in 1542. Under Edward VI. he showed zeal as a reformer, became Rector of Wigan in 1550, and Prebendary in Worcester Cathedral. He married about the same time, but when Mary came to the throne he separated from his wife. It is related that he was made Vicar of Northall in 1554, but deprived because he was a married man. He, however, got another living, that of Packlesham, Essex, in the same year. Bishop Bonner was his patron in this and several other appointments. On the accession of Elizabeth she restored him to a prebend in St. Paul's Cathedral, although in the preceding reign he had advocated the burning of English Bibles published in the time of Edward VI. and before. He died in 1570. His works were: (i.) *A Lytle Treatise . . . against the Protestation of Robert Barnes at the time of his deth*, 1540; (ii.) *A discourse, wherein is debated whether it is expedient that the Scripture should be in English, for al men to read that Wyll*, 1554, second edition, 1555; (iii.) *The Triall of the Supremacy, wherein is set forth ye Unitie of Christe's Church, etc.*, 1556.

ALEXANDER NOWELL, born at Read Hall, Whalley,

in 1507 or 1508, was educated at Middleton Grammar School before entering Brasenose College, Oxford, at the age of thirteen. In due course he took his degrees and was ordained, and in 1643 was appointed master of Westminster School. Izaak Walton notices him as a "dear lover and constant practicer of angling"; and in *Fuller* we read that he accidentally invented bottled ale, for he unwittingly left a bottle of ale in the grass by the riverside, and was surprised a few days later to find its contents effervescent. He went abroad during Queen Mary's reign. His "godly zeal and special good learning, and other singular gifts and virtues," earned him numerous preferments on his return. In 1561 he was elected Dean of St. Paul's, and he frequently preached at St. Paul's Cross and before Queen Elizabeth. Nowell's great service to the Church was the compilation of his "Catechism," which considerably aided the Reformation in England. It was originally presented to Convocation in 1563, when he was prolocutor of the Lower House. The Catechism was published in three forms: the Large Catechism, 1570; the Middle Catechism, also 1570; and the Small Catechism, which is substantively the Catechism in the Book of Common Prayer. On more than one occasion he displeased Queen Elizabeth. Once, when preaching a Lenten sermon before her, he spoke slightingly of the Crucifix. On this she called out aloud, "To your text, Mr. Dean; leave that; we have heard enough of that." In 1572 he re-endowed the free school at Middleton, and founded thirteen scholarships there. His advice in framing the rules of other schools was frequently called for. By the charter of Queen Elizabeth, 1578, he was appointed one of the four Fellows of Manchester Collegiate Church. In 1580 he came into Lancashire to inquire into the state of religion there, and to preach on Sundays and holy days wherever he might be. He died on February 13th, 1601-2, having been twice married, but leaving no

children. He left behind him a great reputation as scholar, preacher, disputant, and theologian. In addition to his Catechisms he wrote and printed a number of other works, some of which are now lost. Of those that survive the most noteworthy are his replies to Thomas Dorman, 1565, 1566, and 1567, and his *Disputation* with Edmund Campion, 1581. Some of his Latin verses have also been printed, as well as several letters.

LAURENCE NOWELL, brother of the Dean of St. Paul's, may be reckoned as an author, though his writings survive only in manuscript. He was a graduate of both Oxford and Cambridge, and in 1536 was appointed master of Sutton Coldfield Grammar School. As a Protestant he took refuge abroad while Queen Mary was on the throne. He subsequently became Archdeacon of Derby (1558) and Dean of Lichfield (1560), besides holding other benefices. He died in 1576. He is known as one of the first to revive the study of Anglo-Saxon and as a chorographer.

EDWIN SANDYS, Archbishop of York, born at Hawkshead in or about 1516, is thought to have been educated at Furness Abbey before going to St. John's College, Cambridge. He was elected master of Catharine Hall in 1547, and in the following year was Vicar of Caversham; afterwards Canon of Peterborough, Prebendary at Carlisle, and Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University. In 1553, on Queen Mary's accession, he was imprisoned in the Tower of London and in the Marshalsea, whence by influence he was released and escaped to the Continent. On returning to England after Mary's death he, though a married man, received preferment, and was made a commissioner for revising the Liturgy, and was appointed in 1559 to make an ecclesiastical visitation of the north of England. On December 21st in the same year he was consecrated Bishop of Worcester. He was an obstinate Puritan, constantly at variance with those who desired to treat

the opponents of his party with indulgence. He was one of the translators of the Bishops' Bible in 1565, and of the Bible of 1572. He succeeded Grindal in the Bishopric of London in 1570, and in the archiepiscopal see of York in 1575-6, and died on July 10th, 1588. He wrote a number of sermons and other pieces, which were collected and published by the Parker Society in 1841.

JAMES PILKINGTON was born at Rivington Hall about the year 1518, and went to Cambridge when he was sixteen. The Reformation of the Church found in him a strong advocate, and when the Marian persecutions began in 1554 he deemed it expedient to retire to the Continent along with other Protestants. Returning to England in 1558, he took part in the revision of the Book of Common Prayer. In 1559 he was admitted master of St. John's College, and towards the close of 1560 was appointed Bishop of Durham, and was thus the first Protestant occupant of the see, in the administration of which he displayed his reforming zeal, and showed himself a great stickler for the episcopal rights and emoluments. A charter of incorporation was granted by him to the city of Durham, and he founded and endowed a free grammar school at Rivington, where the church was founded by his father. He died at Bishop Auckland on 23rd January, 1575-6, aged 55 years. His printed works include: (i.) *Aggeus the Prophete, declared by a Large Commentary*, 1560; (ii.) *Aggeus and Abdias, Prophetes, the one corrected the other newly added*, 1562; (iii.) *A Confutation of an Addicion, with an Apologye written and cast in the Stretes of West Chester against the causes of burning Paules Churche*, 1563; (iv.) *A Godlie exposition upon certaine chapters of Nehemiah*, 1585. A collected edition of his writings was published by the Parker Society in 1842.

Among the Puritans of the sixteenth century were two brothers of the Lever family of Lancashire. The

elder, THOMAS LEVER, was born at Little Lever in 1521, and was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he became the leader of the extreme party of Protestant reformers. Preaching was his talent, and his bold, blunt discourses at St. Paul's, London, led to an invitation to preach before Edward VI. at Court. John Knox called him a "godlie and fervent man." On the death of the King he supported the cause of Lady Jane Grey. Queen Mary's accession in 1553 caused him to resign the mastership of St. John's College, to which he had been elected two years previously, and to flee to Zurich. For over four years he lived on the Continent. Returning to England early in 1558-9, he busily occupied himself in preaching in London and elsewhere. He was made Rector and Archdeacon of Coventry, and while residing there, in 1560, he wrote a letter urging the fullest investigation into the circumstances of Amy Robsart's death. In January, 1562-3, he was appointed master of Sherburn Hospital, Durham, and in the following year Canon of Durham Cathedral. This canonry he lost some years afterwards through his persistence in puritanical practices. He died at Ware, on his way from London to Sherburn, in July, 1577, and his body was carried to Sherburn and buried in the chancel of the hospital chapel. Three of his sermons were published separately in 1550, and reprinted in 1572, and again by Professor Arber in 1871. He also wrote *A Meditacion upon the Lord's Prayer*, 1551; *A Treatise of the Right way from the Danger of Sinne and Vengeance in this Wicked World*, etc., Geneva, 1556; and he contributed a preface to John Bradford's *Godly Meditations*, 1567.

RALPH LEVER, the younger brother of Thomas, and his successor as master of Sherburn Hospital, was also educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. Like his brother, he exiled himself for religion in Queen Mary's reign, but returned after the accession of Elizabeth,

when he was elected a senior Fellow of his college. He afterwards, in 1565, in Bishop Pilkington's time, went into the diocese of Durham, became Rector of Washington, Archdeacon of Northumberland and Canon of Durham, and in 1575 Rector of Stanhope. In 1577 he got the mastership of Sherburn Hospital, resigning Stanhope soon afterwards. A year later he was created D.D. of Cambridge, and he died about March, 1584-5. He wrote *The Assertion of Raphe Lever touching the Canon Law, the English Papists, and the Ecclesiastical Offices of this Realm* (in Strype's *Annals*); *The most noble, auncient, and learned playe called the Philosopher's game*, etc., 1563; *The Art of Reason, rightly termed Witcraft, teaching a perfect way to Argue and Dispute*, 1573. This treatise on logic was dedicated to Walter, Earl of Essex, to whom he had been tutor. Some interesting letters about it will be found in *The Academy* for May-June, 1878. Professor T. S. Bayne says it is the only thorough-going and consistent attempt ever made to render the technicalities of logical science into English terms.

HENRY PENDLETON, believed to have been born at Manchester, was educated probably at the grammar school before proceeding to Brasenose College, Oxford, where he matriculated in 1538. He became D.D. in 1552. In the reign of Henry VIII. he preached against Lutheranism, but adopted Protestant views under Edward VI., and saw reason to become a zealous Romanist when Mary came to the throne. Many preferments fell to his lot as rewards for his conversion. He, who in earlier times had been one of the Earl of Derby's itinerant preachers of the doctrines of the Reformation, now took part in disputations with Protestants brought before Bishop Bonner. He won fame as a preacher, and is said to have been an able man, handsome and athletic, with fine clear voice and ready speech. He died in September, 1557, "repenting his Popish errors," if we

may believe Foxe. His claim as an author rests on two of the homilies published by Bonner in 1555.

The first master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, LAURENCE CHADERTON, was a man of profound learning, as well as of sincere piety and simplicity of life; but he had no pride of authorship, and published nothing but a Latin tract on justification and an English sermon, which was preached at St. Paul's Cross and printed in 1580. He was born at Lees, Oldham, in or about 1536, the son of an adherent of the ancient faith, by whom he was placed under the tutelage of Laurence Vaux, Warden of Manchester Church. After entering Christ's College in 1564-5, he embraced the reformed religion, much against his father's will and his own interest. He was lecturer at St. Clement's Church, Cambridge, for fifty years, and master of Emmanuel College for thirty-eight years. When Sir Walter Mildmay proposed to found that college he designated Laurence Chaderton as its head. Chaderton expressed fears as to his fitness for the office, whereupon Mildmay intimated that unless his friend became the first master there would be no college founded. He was a member of the Hampton Court Conference and one of the translators of the Bible, made by order of James I. He died in November, 1640, at the very remarkable age of 102 or 103.

JOHN WOLTON, or WOOLTON, was connected with the Nowells of Read Hall and the Kays of Rochdale, and was born at Whalley about 1535. After a short residence at Brasenose College, Oxford, he fled to the Continent, like so many other Lancashire Protestants, but returned home on the accession of Elizabeth, and in 1560 was made Canon Residentiary of Exeter Cathedral, and he held other appointments. In 1578 he was appointed Warden of Manchester, and in 1579 became Bishop of Exeter, proving himself an exemplary prelate. He died on March 13th, 1593-4. His writings

consist of six or seven religious pieces, all apparently published in 1576-7, one of which, *The Christian Manual*, was reprinted by the Parker Society in 1851.

RICHARD BANCROFT, Archbishop of Canterbury, was a native of Farnworth, in Prescot, where he was born in 1544; the son of a "gentleman" and the great-nephew of a bishop. Educated first at the local grammar school, he was sent when about twenty years of age to Christ's College, Cambridge. He took his degree of B.A. in 1566-7, and afterwards had a prebend in St. Patrick's, Dublin, given to him, with permission to be absent for six months. This was while he was still at Christ College, which house he was obliged to leave on account of his supposed Puritan leanings. He then entered Jesus College, and engaged in the work of college tutor. In 1575-6 he was collated to a rectory near Cambridge, and a few months later was appointed by the University as a special preacher. Before long he exhibited himself as an uncompromising opponent of Puritanism and upholder of ecclesiastical discipline, a character he consistently maintained to the end of his career. He became Bishop of London in 1597, and Archbishop of Canterbury in 1604. He was occasionally called upon to take part in important political affairs, and was present at the death-bed of Queen Elizabeth, and joined in proclaiming King James. At the Hampton Court Conference in 1604 he took the lead in the disputations, and distinguished himself by his harshness and ill-temper, and by objecting to a new translation of the Bible when suggested by the Puritans, though a few years later he became a strong supporter of that great undertaking. His influence in Convocation and Parliament was on the whole exercised with wisdom, and his diocese was ruled with prudence and high courage. He died on November 2nd, 1610. His chief works were: i) *A Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline*, and ii) *Daungerous Positions and Proceedings published*

and practiced within the Hand of Brytaine under pretence of Reformation; both were dated 1593. In 1588 he published a sermon preached at St. Paul's Cross, in which he handled the Puritans with severity. It occasioned a reply from John Penry, the chief author and printer of the Mar-Prelate tracts.

WILLIAM WHITAKER, born at Holme, near Burnley, in 1548, was a chief leader among the Calvinistic divines of the latter part of the sixteenth century, and perhaps the most learned of the anti-Roman Catholic controversialists of his time. He was a nephew of Alexander Nowell, by whom he was sent to St. Paul's School, London, whence he proceeded in 1564 to Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1580 he was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, and Chancellor of St. Paul's Cathedral, London. The mastership of St. John's College, Cambridge, was given to him in 1586, and he died there on December 4th, 1595. He has been styled the pride and ornament of Cambridge, and his works were long regarded with respect by the scholars of his own country and of the Continent. A list of twenty-one of his books, all in Latin, is given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Most of these were reprinted in two folio volumes, published at Geneva in 1610.

There were two Lancashire authors named Carter, but no evidence has been given that they were related, though both came from the north of the county. The first was PETER CARTER, M.A., born about 1530, and educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. He became master of the grammar school at Preston, and was buried in the parish churchyard on September 8th, 1590, aged 60 years. His Latin epitaph was seen and copied by Dodsworth, the antiquary. Peter Carter edited and annotated John Seton's treatise on logic: *Dialectica Joannis Setoni, annotationibus Petri Carteri*, 1563. Many other editions were published before the end of the century.

OLIVER CARTER, B.D., was also educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he was admitted in November, 1555. He, too, became a Fellow of his college. He was college preacher in 1565, and held other offices in college and University. Some time after (June, 1571) he was elected a Fellow of the Manchester Collegiate Church, where he proved himself an influential preacher. Bishop Chaderton appointed him in 1578 as one of the five moderators of the monthly lecture at Manchester, which was, according to Canon Raines, an office of great trust and responsibility. He and Dr. Dee, the warden, were often at cross-purposes, and he was a great stickler for his own rights. He had the reputation of an acute controversialist, and was the author of *An Answeare made by Oliver Carter, Bachelor of Divinitie, unto certaine Popishe Questions and Demaundes*, published in 1579, in reply to a treatise by Richard Bristow. Carter is thought to be the writer of the valuable *Description of the State, Civil and Ecclesiastical, of the County of Lancashire, about the year* 1590, *by some of the Clergy of the Diocese of Chester*, which was printed by the Chetham Society in 1875. He was buried at Manchester on March 20th, 1604-5.

THOMAS COGAN, a Somersetshire man, born about 1545, came to Manchester in 1575 to take the position of high master of the grammar school, and he remained there until his death in June, 1607. He was a good classical scholar and the leading physician of the town, and he married a widow of good position, a daughter of Sir Edward Trafford of Trafford. Educated at Oriel College, Oxford, he graduated B.A. in 1562-3, M.A. in 1566, and M.B. in 1574. He resigned the mastership of Manchester Grammar School about 1600, and when he died left behind him "the character of an able physician and Latinist, a good neighbour, and an honest man." While at college he began to compile his first book, but it was not published until 1577. It is called *The Well of*

Wisdome, conteining chiefe and chosen sayinges which may lead all men to perfect and true wisdome, as well to God-ward as to the worlde (London, T. Vautrollier, 1577). He is better known by his next work, *The Haven of Health, chiefly gathered for the comfort of Students, and consequently of all those that have a care of their health* (London, printed by Henry Midleton, 1584). Of this interesting book three editions came out in the author's lifetime, and several afterwards. After retiring from the grammar school he published a selection from Cicero's *Epistles* for the use of schoolboys, with the title of *Epistolarum Familiarum M. T. Ciceronis Epitome*, etc., printed at Cambridge in 1602.

SIMON HARWARD was probably not a native of Lancashire. The dates of his birth and death are unknown. He is identified with the county by having been Rector of Warrington from 1579 to 1581; by marrying at Manchester, on September 25th, 1582, a daughter of Robert Langley, sometime boroughreeve of the town; and by publishing *Two Godlie and Learned Sermons preached at Manchester*, in the year of his marriage. Having what Anthony à Wood called a "rambling head," he was in succession preacher at various places in Surrey and Hampshire besides Lancashire. Sometimes he was a beneficed clergyman, and at others he kept a school and practised medicine. Between 1592 and 1614 he published several volumes of sermons and other works, including *Phlebotomy, or a Treatise of Letting of Blood; A Discourse of Several Kinds and Causes of Lightnings;* and *A Treatise on Propagating Plants.*

JOHN WEEVER, poet and antiquary, was born in Lancashire in 1576, and entered Queens' College, Cambridge, in 1594. He came back to Lancashire about 1598, where apparently he continued to reside for several years. Before he was twenty he wrote most of the epigrams published in his first work, *Epigrammes in*

the oldest cut and newest fashion, 1599. It is famous from its mention and commendation of William Shakespeare and other poets of the day. His second volume of verse came out in 1601, *The Mirror of Martyrs, or the life and death of that thrice valient Captaine and most godly martyr, Sir John Oldcastle, knight, Lord Cobham*, which is also valuable for the knowledge it displays of Shakespeare's recent plays. In 1606 he published a thumb-book, entitled, *An Agnus Dei*, giving a poetical history of Christ. Afterwards, turning his attention to antiquities, he made tours throughout England, and in 1631 issued his *Ancient Funeral Monuments within the United Monarchie of Great Britaine, Ireland, and the Islands adjacent, with the dissolved Monasteries therein contained, their Founders and what eminent persons have been in the same interred*. This folio volume is specially interesting to antiquaries, as almost all the sepulchral inscriptions mentioned by the author are now obliterated. He died in 1632, and was buried in the church of St. James, Clerkenwell.

Some poems printed in Bodenham's *Belvedere, or the Garden of the Muses*, 1600, entitle FERDINANDO STANLEY, fifth Earl of Derby, to be enrolled as a Lancashire author. He was a patron and friend of poets, several of whom name him in their works. Spenser says he "was the noblest swain that ever piped upon an oaten quill . . . and eke could pipe himself with passing skill." He maintained a company of actors, one of whom was William Shakespeare himself. He was born about 1559, and was educated at Oxford. On behalf of his father he acted as Deputy-Lieutenant of Lancashire and Cheshire, and during the period of alarm of the Spanish invasion in 1588 was Mayor of Liverpool. He succeeded to his father's great titles and estates on September 25th, 1593, but only enjoyed them about six months, his death occurring at Lathom House on

April 16th, 1594. Absurd rumours were abroad at the time that he met his end by witchcraft; also that he was poisoned at the instigation of the Jesuits.

It may be allowable to claim WILLIAM FLEETWOOD, Recorder of London, as a Lancashire author, because he was a member of the Fleetwood family of Hesketh, though he was probably born in London. The date of his birth was about 1535. He sat as M.P. for several places, including Lancaster, and was known as a witty and eloquent speaker. He wrote *An Oration made at Guildhall*, 1571; *Annals of the reigns of Edward V., Richard III., Henry VII., and Henry VIII.* (in Latin), 1579; *A Table of the Reports of Edmund Plowden*, 1578; *The Office of a Justice of the Peace* (posthumous).

Another Lancashire lawyer was RICHARD CROMPTON, who came of a family settled at Bedford Grange in the parish of Leigh. He was educated at Brasenose College, Oxford, and then went to the Middle Temple, of which society he became a bencher, and might have advanced further had he not "preferred his private studies and repose before public employment and riches." His first work was an enlarged edition of Fitzherbert's *Office et Aucthorite de Justices de Peace*, 1583. This was followed by *A Short Declaration of the Ende of Traytors and False Conspirators against the State, and the Duetie of Subjects to their Sovereigne Governour*, 1587; and *L'Authorite et Jurisdiction des Courtes de la Majestie de la Roygne*, 1594. This was his chief work. His last was *The Mansion of Magnanimitie*, 1599. He was the father of William Crompton, the Puritan minister of Barnstaple.

OLD WIGAN

By Henry T. Folkard, F.S.A.

THE "ancient and loyal" borough of Wigan has earned its well-known title by an historical existence which may be traced from the days when it formed an important Roman military station (the Coccium of Antoninus) down to the present time. The Roman station at Wigan stood upon the summit of the elevation in the centre of the town, on which the parish church now stands, and the three Roman roads from Wilderspool, from Manchester, and from Walton converged upon it. (See "The Romans in Lancashire"—Vol. I.)

The name of Wigan is derived from "*wig*," in Anglo-Saxon signifying "a fight," the "*en*" forming the plural of the noun. After the departure of the Romans, the Britons fought for their independence on the banks of the Douglas, and tradition has it that, led by the semi-mythical hero, King Arthur, they achieved several brilliant successes. After the Norman Conquest, Wigan, which had been for a considerable period a borough by prescription, was made a free borough by King Henry III., whose charter, dated 1246, granted to John Mansel, parson of the church of Wigan, sets forth—"That his vill of Wygayn may be a borough for ever, and that the burgesses of the same borough may have a guild merchant with a treasury and other liberties," etc. The old Statute Merchants' Seal is only known to us by a much-defaced impression appended to a deed of King Henry VI. (1455), which has been restored and emblazoned in one of the windows of the new Council Chamber, the elaborate decorations of which were carried

out heraldically at the suggestion of the present writer, so that the chamber should contain an interesting record relating generally to the history of the various municipalities of the County Palatine, and especially to that of Wigan and its neighbourhood. Wigan has no arms in the ordinary meaning of the phrase, but the common seal of the town, in use since the commencement of the seventeenth century, or earlier, has been accepted in substitution. The charter of Henry III. was confirmed to the town by Edward II. (1314) and subsequent monarchs down to Charles II., whose charter of May 16th, 1662, confirmed to the Mayor, Bailiffs, and Burgesses of Wigan, all their ancient privileges, and ordains that the Corporation shall consist of a Mayor and eleven other Aldermen, a Recorder, two Bailiffs, and a Common Clerk. The King, taking into account the constant loyalty of the town during the great Civil War, in his charter specially honoured the Mayor of Wigan by conferring upon him and his successors for ever the dignity of a Justiceship of the Peace for the County Palatine, as well as that of Chief Magistrate of Wigan. The special privilege thus created of the county magistrateship has unfortunately been allowed to lapse.

The charter of Charles II. was considered the governing charter of the town until the passing of the Municipal Corporations Act in 1835, when the Corporation included the Mayor, Ex-Mayor, and ten other Aldermen, two Bailiffs, a Recorder, the Town Clerk, and a Treasurer, with two Sergeants-at-Mace, a Sword-Bearer, and two Halberd-Bearers. Several of these charters have been placed in the Wigan Public Library in a glass case for public inspection.

The late Rector of Wigan (the Hon. and Rev. G. T. O. Bridgeman) states that there was a church at Wigan in King Edward the Confessor's time, but of any subsequent rebuilding or restoration there is no record till the year 1620, when the chancel was rebuilt by Bishop Bridgeman,

WIGAN CHURCH IN 1832.

Engraved by R. Sands.

at that time rector of the parish. The oldest parts of the existing church are the lower portion of the tower and the lower portions of the two turrets, with stone winding stairs leading to the roof on the north and south of the chancel arch, which are built of red sandstone like that used in the tower. The old tower is an immensely solid structure, the walls of which are nearly seven feet thick, as may be seen where it is cut through to connect the vestry with the choir vestry, or robing-room for the choir. It is probable, Mr. Bridgeman continues, that the Gerard Chapel, adjacent to the north aisle of the church, with a family vault beneath it, was built about the same time as the chancel. This chapel descended to the Walmesleys, of Westwood House, Wigan, as successors to the Gerards, of Ince, and was left untouched at the last restoration. Before that took place, the Legh Chapel, or north aisle of the chancel, was used as a vestry, and the site of the present vestry was occupied by a building known as the bone-house; the church at that time was also filled up with unsightly galleries. The commencement of the restoration took place in 1845, when the chancel and the Bradshaigh Chapel were taken down and rebuilt by the rector and the Earl of Crawford respectively. The body of the church was pulled down in 1849, and the restoration completed in 1850, under the direction of Mr. E. G. Paley, architect, of Lancaster. The old tower was subsequently raised to make room for the clock. There were formerly three private chapels attached to the parish church. Besides the Gerard Chapel, there were a Legh Chapel and a Bradshaigh Chapel. That belonging to the Leghs, of Lyme, as lords of the manor of Norley, in the parish of Wigan, stood where the organ is now placed, north of the chancel. This chapel was handed over in 1682 by Richard Legh, of Lyme, for a vestry, and was used as such until the present vestry was built.

The Bradshaigh Chapel, now the property of the Earl of Crawford, has a very old history of its own. The

original chantry attached to the church, and dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, was founded by Dame Mabel, widow of Sir William Bradshaigh, Knight, with the assent of Roger, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry; Henry, Earl of Lancaster, Seneschal of England; and John de Langton, Rector of Wigan (1338). The Dame Mabel mentioned was daughter and heiress of Hugh le Norreys, lord of Haigh and Blackrod. Those acquainted with Sir Walter Scott's *Betrothed*, and with Roby's *Traditions of Lancashire*, will be familiar with the romantic story of her second marriage during her husband's long absence from home, in the wars. This venerable tradition is chiefly extracted from the genealogical roll of the Bradshaighs, drawn up in 1647, and now in the possession of Lord Crawford:—

Sir William Bradshaighe, second son of Sir John, was a great traveller and a souldger, and married to Mabell, daughter and sole heire of Hugh Norris de Haghe and Blackrode, and had issue, in 8 Edward II. Of this Mabell is a story, by tradition of undoubted veritie, that in Sir William Bradshaghe [his] absence (being ten years away in the holy wars) she married a Welsh knight. Sir William returning from the wars, came in a palmer's habitt amongst the poor to Haghe, who, when she saw, and congetringe that he favoured her former husband, wept, for which the knight chastised her, at which Sir William went and made him selfe knowne to his tennants, in which space the knight fled; but neare to Newton Parke Sir William overtooke him and slue him. The said Dame Mabell was enjoined by her confessor to doe pennances by going onest every week barefoot and barelegg'd to a crosse ner Wigan, from the Haghe, whilest she lived, and is called Mabb ✕ to this day; and ther monument lyes in Wygan church.

Sir William was outlawed during the space of a year and a day for this offence, but he and his lady are said to have lived happily together ever afterwards. The remains of the ancient cross, still known as Mab's Cross, stand at the top of Standishgate at the entrance of Wigan Lane, and consist of the base of a pillar and a portion of a four-sided shaft, much worn away by time. The tomb of Sir William and his lady will be found in the Bradshaigh Chapel, on the south side of the

MAB'S CROSS, WIGAN.

Drawn by G. Pickering. *Engraved by Edwd. Finden.*

chancel, from which it is separated by a handsome screen. The knight lies beside Dame Mabel, clad in a coat of mail, cross-legged, with his sword partially drawn from the scabbard on the left side, and on his shoulder his shield, charged with two bends; she in a long robe, veiled, her hands elevated and conjoined in the attitude of prayer. Sir William, as Roby remarks, could not have been in the holy wars, seeing he was born about the year 1280. Sir Walter Scott avoids the difficulty by omitting the word *holy;* and the late Rector of Wigan suggests that it is more likely that he was taken prisoner in the Scottish wars. There is another version of the story preserved in the Harleian MSS., 1563, which differs in many particulars from the one given. Part of the old Haigh Hall, pulled down in the time of James, Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, grandfather of the present peer, bore the name of "Mab's Gallery," and her ghost was said to haunt it.

The church contains other monuments relating to the Bradshaighs and Earls of Crawford, the Gerards, the Walmesleys, and others, and recently a beautifully painted glass window has been placed in the Braidshaigh Chapel by Lady Mabel Marian Lindsay and Lady Jane Evelyn Lindsay, in memory of their father, Alexander William, the late Earl of Crawford and Balcarres. The elaborate designs were drawn by Lady Jane Evelyn Lindsay, and the work executed by Messrs. Heaton, Butler, and Bayne.

On the first return of borough members to the House of Commons, the four ancient boroughs of Lancashire—Wigan, Preston, Liverpool, and Lancaster—were required to send two members each (1295), these being the only towns in the whole county summoned to Parliament, and the wages of the members were fixed at two shillings each per diem, which at the present value of money would amount to about thirty shillings a member. Wigan (with one considerable break) from that time continued

to send two members to Parliament, until the passing of the Redistribution of Seats Act (1885), when the number was reduced to one.

One of the earliest detailed references to Wigan is given in the *Itinerary* of John Leland, the antiquary, who flourished in the reign of Henry VIII. "Wigan," he writes, "pavid, as bigge as Warrington and better builded; there is one paroch chirch amidde the town, summe marchauntes, sum artificers, sum fermers. Mr. Bradeshaw hath a place caullid Hawe, a myle from Wigan, he founde muche canal like se coole in his grounde, very profitable to hym; and Gerarde of Ynse dwellith in that paroch." Holinshed, a chronicler of Queen Elizabeth's time, also mentions Wigan, where, he says, the inns were well provided with "naperie, bedding, and tapisserie, and each commer is sure to lie in cleane sheets wherein no man hath been lodged since they came from the laundresse." If the traveller arrived on horseback his bed cost him nothing, but if on foot it cost him a penny for this luxurious accommodation. About this time the parson of Wigan, the Rev. Edward Fleetwood, ordered the Wigan innkeepers not to charge more than one penny for a quart of ale. Baines, the county historian, informs us that at this period Lancashire was agitated by religious differences, and in no place did the zeal of the contending parties glow more fervently than in Wigan. Queen Elizabeth's commission for promoting the ordinances of the Church according to the rights of the reformed faith, held sittings occasionally, under the presidency of the Earl of Derby, in Wigan. "The popish recusants," as they were then styled, were rigorously pursued in the borough, and the rector, the Rev. E. Fleetwood, exerted himself energetically against his Roman Catholic parishioners.

Descending to another great era in English history, Wigan is to be found among the foremost of the boroughs in the County Palatine, and when in the year 1636 Charles I. determined to enforce the levy of ship-money,

Wigan, from its then superior wealth, was called upon to contribute £50, whereas from Preston was only required £40, from Lancaster £30, and from Liverpool £25. In the great Civil War which ensued Wigan took a prominent part. As early as 1636 it became a sort of central garrison for the King, and throughout the whole period of the war it upheld its character of the "ancient and loyal town of Wigan."

In 1642 Captains Bradshaw and Venables marched out of Wigan towards Bolton with two hundred and fifty men, and encountering a Parliamentary force on their way, after a severe struggle, routed them. This victory, according to Parliamentary despatches, inflated the Cavaliers with pride, for on their way back to Wigan they knocked down the pulpit in Hindley chapel, played at cards in the pews, and tore the Bible to pieces, sticking the leaves upon the posts about the town, and calling it the "Roundheads' Bible." This initial success was soon followed by repeated disaster. In 1643 Sir John Seaton, the Parliamentary general, after capturing Preston and Lancaster, marched to Wigan, where the Earl of Derby had thrown up strong entrenchments, and formed a camp in the "parson's meadow," on the banks of the Douglas. A desperate battle followed on April 1st, the Royalists being totally defeated. The number of prisoners taken amounted to eight hundred men, with a thousand stand of arms, and £2,000 in treasure.

In the following month the Earl of Derby regained possession of the town, and was again defeated after a sharp struggle. During the fight a body of Royalist marksmen took refuge in the church tower, and kept up a galling fire on the enemy. They did not surrender until Colonel Roseworm threatened to blow up the whole church unless they desisted. Finding that the people of Wigan remained firmly attached to the Royalist cause, Colonel Ashton, the Parliamentary commander, ordered the outworks and fortifications of the town to be demolished.

and caused the gates and posts at the entrances to Standishgate, Wallgate, Hallgate, and Millgate to be thrown down and destroyed. From this time until the year 1648 Wigan was left alone, although much Royalist treasure was known to be concealed in the place; but when in this year Oliver Cromwell had driven the Scotch army under the Duke of Hamilton from Preston, he pursued the flying troops through Wigan, where they had found quarters on the night of August 18th, and overthrew them at the pass of Winwick.

Three years afterwards (1651), the appearance of Charles II. in the field again raised the hopes of the Royalists; the Earl of Derby once more assumed command in Lancashire, and marched with a small body of horse, some six hundred men, from Preston to Wigan. At the same time Colonel Lilburne started from Manchester with ten troops of dragoons and some regiments of militia to intercept him. On August 25th, 1651, the colonel reached Wigan Lane, and lined the hedges on both sides with his infantry. Upon the earl's approach shortly afterwards with a body of cavalry, he was received with a heavy musketry fire. Surprised, but undaunted, the earl rapidly divided his small force into two bodies of about three hundred each, and, taking the van, gave the rear to Sir Thomas Tyldesley. The trumpets then sounded the charge, and the gallant band of Cavaliers twice cut their way through the main body of the enemy; but attempting a third assault, they were surrounded and overpowered, and Sir Thomas Tyldesley, Lord Widdrington, and many others were killed. Sir Robert Throgmorton, knight-marshal, left for dead, was rescued and sheltered by a poor woman, afterwards concealed by Sir Robert Bradshaigh, and eventually recovered. The Earl of Derby had two horses shot under him, and, wounded himself, escaped to Wigan, where he remained in hiding till night-time in the Old Dog Inn, which is situated in the maze of passages then shut in by the Mill Gate, the Market Place, and the

Wiend. Here the wall was already in ruins, for he escaped through it and fled to Worcester, accompanied by a few faithful followers. The "Hole-i'-th-Wall" public-house, close to the spot, still preserves the memory of this incident. In 1679 a monumental pillar was erected in Wigan Lane by Alexander Rigby, Esq., to mark the spot where Sir Thomas Tyldesley was killed; it was restored and renovated by the Wigan Town Council in 1886.

The invasion of the North of England by the Scotch army, under the Earls of Derwentwater and other Jacobite leaders, in 1715, scarcely extended so far south as Wigan, but after the suppression of the rebellion, five of the rebels, namely, James Blundel, James Finch, John Macilliwray, William Whalley, and James Burn, were publicly executed in the Wigan market-place.

In the rebellion of 1745, the Young Pretender, Prince Charles Edward Stuart, passed through the town at the head of his army on the way to Manchester, and returned by the same route when retreating, spending the night of December 10th in Wigan, the prince sleeping at the old manor-house in Bishopsgate. The house is still in existence.

The rise and progress of Wigan as an industrial centre is chiefly due to the opening out and development of the coal-mines in the latter part of the eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth centuries. In early and mediæval times, although coal was well known to exist, little use was made of it, and what there was belonged exclusively to the lord of the manor. In the Rev. Mr. Bridgeman's *History of the Manor and Church of Wigan* will be found numerous references to his ancestors' (lords of the manor) coal-pits. An example is sufficient. In November, 1619, Bishop Bridgeman, Rector of Wigan, gave permission

to Peter Platt of Wigan, chandler, to drain the water from his coal-pit near the Millgate into the street for a short time, to see if that would enable him to get rid of the water and work the pit. And a few months later, his widow, Ann Platt, begged for leave to continue this

privilege, so that the water might run down the side of the street to the river, and agreed with the Bishop to pay a rent of 52s., that is 12d. a week, and 50 loads of coal, and to pave the way all along, so that the water from the pit should not hurt the said highway of Millgate.

An interesting notice of the working of a Wigan colliery in 1600 was forwarded some years ago to the *Wigan Examiner* by the late Mr. J. Eglinton Bailey, giving the debit and credit account of the working of a colliery three centuries ago. We can follow the workmen at the sinking of the pit, at the merry-making at the finding of the coal, at the removal of the stone and water, at the "scouring" of the pit; and we may see the sale of the coals. The figures extend over about ten weeks; and when the pit was in working order the output was about twenty five loads—probably horse-loads—a day. The cost of sinking a pit at that primitive era of the coal trade can also be ascertained, with the value of labour and materials. The coal in the pit under notice seems to have been of two kinds, for it was sold about 4d. and 2d. per load at the pit's mouth. The exact situation of this pit is now unknown, but it was probably on the property of Ralph Worsley, of Worsley Hall and Worsley Mesnes, Wigan.

Somewhere towards the end or in the middle of Charles I.'s reign, Sir Roger Bradshaigh had the foresight to see that the mines which he was then commencing to develop towards Aspull Moor and that part would require a system whereby the water always banking up in collieries would be got rid of, and he then instituted and carried out himself the great drain which is still at work. It runs down from Aspull Moor and discharges into the Bottling Wood stream. This drain has been at work now since the year 1685, and although naturally it has had to be repaired occasionally, it still serves the purpose for which Sir Roger first started it.

The rise of the cotton trade of Wigan is involved in considerable obscurity. Cotton was manufactured in Wigan in the seventeenth century. There being then no

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mills, the weaving was done on hand looms in the houses of the people, the weavers working usually in cellars under their cottages. A few of the old dwellings may still be seen in Wigan Lane, Chapel Lane, and elsewhere, with long, steep flights of stone steps up the front of them to the living-rooms above.

A Mr. Morris, of Brock Mill, brought the first cotton carding machine to Wigan early in the nineteenth century, and the first cotton mills erected in Wigan were in the neighbourhood of Wallgate. The old mill in Princess Street was perhaps the first of all. Arriving at the year 1818, we get some definite information regarding the cotton trade of Wigan. In that year there were eight small cotton mills working in the town. Taking them altogether, they contained no more spindles than would now be found in one of the throstle spinning-rooms of many mills. Five of these old mills were afterwards destroyed by fire, and the remainder have long since been pulled down. Mr. William Woods was the first to introduce power looms into Wigan. At that time, when riotous mobs were nightly destroying the power looms in East Lancashire, Mr. Woods borrowed two old cannon from Lord Balcarres and planted them at the entrance to his mill in Wallgate, and thus saved his looms. Shortly before this (in 1812) a mill at Westhoughton, near Wigan, was burned down by a riotous mob, for which three men and a boy of fourteen years were hanged at Lancaster. The boy was said to have carried the lighted torch by which the mill was fired. A rare little poem in the narrative form, describing this cruel tragedy, was written by a Mr. John Clough, and published at Bolton in 1882. A copy of it will be found in the Wigan Reference Library. During this time of rioting and burning of power looms, the Wigan troop of yeomanry cavalry were called out for service in the disturbed district. Their commandant, "Captain Lord," of Standish Hall, used to give a graphic account of the harassing duties they had to perform in endeavouring to check the rioters. They

were called out nearly every night, often marching considerable distances, arriving only to find the loom sheds smoking ruins.

The pottery trade of Wigan, a flourishing industry during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, ceased to exist in the early part of the nineteenth century. The last home of the trade was near the canal basin, where were made the old jugs and mugs, rudely ornamented and inscribed with the record of some interesting local event, which still may be met with, treasured as heirlooms in the town. The Wigan Free Library possesses a specimen of this old Wigan pottery, which bears the following inscription. Within a shield beneath the mouth of the jug the name "John Vause, Esq., Mayor elected 4th Oct., 1800," and on the side, "Glorious 4th of October, 1800. Borough of Wigan Emancipated by Elias Chadwick, senr., Edward Topping, James Smith, Elias Chadwick, junr., James Penson, Richard Fogg, William Cooper, Rt. Holt Leigh, James Tayler, John Penson, senr., William Bancks, John Penson, junr., James Unsworth, Robert Bullock, Robert Fisher, John Chaddock, Independent Burgesses." The names are given in double columns, enclosed in a floral wreath. These "independent burgesses" were the only people in the town who possessed a vote which returned two members to Parliament. Nothing definite seems to be now known as to the cause of this "glorious emancipation," but it doubtless referred to some political contest, in which, it is suggested, the "pocket interest" in the borough was for a time wrested from the noble family of Bradford. In the seventeenth century the potters of Wigan formed an important industrial community. In 1664 Bishop Bridgeman, the lord of the manor, made the following award concerning them:—

> I further award that the potters of Wigan for the tyme being may dig clay in the waste of the said manor as heretofore potters of Wigan have used to doe, provided the places so digged be forthwith after the digging sufficiently amended.

Other important industries of old Wigan were those of the pewterer and brazier. In 1697 an incidental light is thrown upon the trade by an old document signed by the Mayor of Wigan. It reads :—

These may certify to all whom it may concern that Mr. Christopher Banckes, of Wigan, is a real worker and maker of all sorts of pewter, and that he has served a lawful apprenticeship to the art, mystery, and calling of a pewterer, and that he is well affected towards the Government and towards the Church of England as by law established. Given under our hand and seal of Wigan, November 12th, in the 9th year of the reign of King William III. over England, etc., and in the year of our Lord God, 1697. James Hervey, Mayor of Wigan.

Early in the last century two brass and copper works existed in the borough. They are still working, one of them known as "Roger Bolton and Son," and the other as the "Pepper Mill."

Bell-founding was an important industry in Wigan in the seventeenth century. An interesting account of a trade long extinct in the borough is given in the first volume of Sinclair's *History of Wigan*. The author says :—

It was then customary to take the metal to the place where the bell was wanted, and there melt and pour it into a place prepared for the casting in the churchyard, but with the Wigan bell founders it was not so. All the work was done at their own establishments in the town, and the finished work despatched, with several skilled men to assist in the hanging of it. The carts on which the bells were conveyed were clumsy, and the roads were exceedingly bad, so that the work was always done at very great risk. The hanging of the bell was always a gay occasion, and in many old churchwardens' accounts in different parts of England and Wales the bill for beer to the Wigan workmen is carefully noted. There were several firms in the town, but only one on a very large scale. The largest firm undoubtedly was that of the Scott family, which existed in a prosperous state throughout the whole of the century. The original firm was that of James and John Scott. Their superior workmanship was well known throughout the country, and many bells made by them are still to be seen and heard. It is not recorded that they actually made any bells for Wigan, but several bills have been paid to them for repairing the bells, for even at this time there was an excellent chime of bells in the parish church tower. In 1658-59 several

items were paid for repairing gate doors, bell clock, ropes, clappers, and finger of clock, etc. From the accounts it is evident there were many bell founders in the town, but the Scotts took the lead in the trade. Their social position was high, and many members of the family took an honourable part in the government of the town. James and John Scott, the original firm of bell founders, were bailiffs in 1627, and in the years 1653, 1688, and 1701, members of the same family were Mayors of Wigan.

The bells of the parish churches of Wilmslow and Prestbury, and that in the old tower of Lascal church, were cast in Wigan.

During the eighteenth century iron-smelting was carried on in a very small way on the estate of the Earl of Crawford at Haigh, and iron was made from ironstone found upon the estate.

The modern history of Wigan is not treated here. In the year 1719 an Act was obtained for making the river Douglas navigable from Wigan to the Ribble, and in 1727 a cut parallel with the Douglas was formed. Subsequently this navigation became by purchase a section of the Leeds and Liverpool Canal. Since then the opening out of the Wigan coalfield, the network of railways—three companies having stations in Wigan—the erection of iron foundries, cotton mills, waggon works, and other industries, mark a great revival, substituting commercial prosperity for feudal power.

A LANCASHIRE SQUIRE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

By Ernest Axon

NICHOLAS BLUNDELL, of Little Crosby, may be taken as a typical Lancashire squire of his generation, and from his diary (printed, though not published) we get more than a glimpse of the daily life of a squire and his people at a time when Lancashire was still an out-of-the-way part of England.

The Blundells had had land in Little Crosby from the thirteenth century, and in the fourteenth, by marriage with a Molyneux heiress, they acquired the lordship of the manor, and, in addition, they possessed the eighth part of the adjoining manor of Great Crosby. Their lordship of Little Crosby was interrupted for a few years in the sixteenth century, as the result of claims by the Molyneux family to the superior lordship, but in 1526 the Blundell rights were established. One of the family is supposed to have met his death at Flodden, but the Blundells were not concerned in great affairs of State, and were it not that they remained Catholics when the Government was otherwise, their history would be without incident. For harbouring a priest Richard Blundell was imprisoned at Lancaster and there died; his son also was imprisoned and fined for recusancy. When the Civil War broke out the then head of the family, William Blundell, "the Cavalier," espoused the cause of the King, became a captain in Sir Thomas Tyldesley's dragoons, and after three or four months' service was wounded and, lame for life, retired from

active service. He was four times imprisoned by the Parliamentarians, and his lands were sequestered. In his later years he was imprisoned for a few weeks in 1689, and was one of the Lancashire gentlemen accused of a share in the fictitious "plot" of 1694. The Cavalier's son, who had also been imprisoned in 1694, succeeded his father in the estate in 1698 and died in 1702, leaving an only son, Nicholas Blundell, whose diary provides the material for this article.

In the reign of James II., Captain Blundell described his estate as a small lordship, or manor, consisting of forty houses or thereabouts, and for many years remarkable "that it had not a beggar; that it had not an alehouse; that it had not a Protestant in it." The annual value of the estate, as registered in 1715, was £482 12s. 2½d. It will be seen, therefore, that by descent and estate Nicholas Blundell belonged to the squirearchy. As a Catholic he was not eligible for the magistracy, for which he was in other respects qualified.

Nicholas Blundell was born in 1669, and we make his acquaintance at the time when his father lay dying.

Very soon after his father's death the young squire made up his mind to get married, and the various steps taken on this important occasion are duly set forth. On March 28th, 1703, he "writ to Lord Langdale," the father of his future wife. A fortnight later the reply arrived in a roundabout way, "Aunt Frances had account from Mrs. Bloore by orders of Lady Webb that I might wate of Mrs. Fr. Langdall as soone as I pleased." Needless to say he "pleased" very soon. He ordered cloth for a black coat and borrowed some pistols, which, however, were so "extraordinary fine" that he decided not to take them with him. His friends, as was then the custom when a man went "courting," wished him a good journey, and on April 13th he started for Gloucestershire, where his sweetheart lived. On the fifth day he arrived at Hatherop, and "found ye family all there and also

my Lord Langdale." After he had "discoursed with Lord Langdale in his chamber and Lady Webb in ye dining roome," he was permitted to make "his first adress to Mrs. Fr. Langdale." On the 21st he "discoursed Mrs. Langdale in ye kitchen garden," and after the formality of reading the "heds of agreement of marriage" he presented a "dimond ring" to the lady. Soon afterwards he departed by coach to London, writing to Mistress Frances from Waterperry, and had a good time in the capital. He returned part of the way to Hatherop "with a disputing parson," whose diary, if he kept one, would doubtless read "with a disputing young Papist." "Walking with Mrs. Fr. Langdale," watching race-horses, and visiting occupied his time very pleasantly for a few days. The lover then made a second visit to London, bought a "weding ring," "tryed on" his "weding sute" before Lady Curson and other friends, and then returned to Hatherop, where the marriage deeds were read and signed. On June 16th, all the preliminaries having been satisfactorily arranged, Lady Dowager Webb "acquainted" him "ye marriage was to be ye day following." After the wedding Mr. Blundell's chariot conveyed bride and bridegroom to their northern home.

And now, having brought the squire and his lady safely to Crosby, let us endeavour to reconstruct from the somewhat brief entries in the diary, the daily life of a Lancashire squire of the early years of the eighteenth century.

Blundell farmed a portion of his estate and took a proper interest in matters bucolic. The prices of fruit and beasts are recorded, and the interviews with hatters wishing to buy wool are noted. His poultry-farm must have been large, for he sent eggs to the number of five hundred to market at one time. He kept bees, grew potatoes, barley, flax, and beans, and was also a horticulturist. Besides his interest in the ordinary routine of the farm he was always glad to hear of

improved methods, and many were the experiments he tried. He sowed a bushel of barley "dressed with oyle and other ingredients, as powder of coleseed, etc.," but it did not answer his expectations. He fed a hog on acorns, "but it was not very fat." He had a "deal of discourse" with his chaplain "about Fatoning of Kattle and Sheep after ye Beyond Sea manner." He grew Indian wheat (*i.e.*, maize) in his garden, and hung up one of the stalks, which was above nine feet long, in his hall as a trophy, and he set "some Tulop Roots as were dressed with ink after different manners, and some as were order'd otherwayes in hops to change their cullor, but to no good effect." He had a "grand water course" for the drainage of his estate, and the sand had to be kept from filling it up by means of the starr-grass, which then, as now, was absolutely essential for the stability of the soil of the sandy Lancashire coast. His orchards were a source of great pleasure to him. He knew the advantages of grafting, and in his grounds had a "hodg-podg tree" on which there were at least three different varieties of apple. He realized the importance of keeping his fruit in good condition when gathered. One March he "opened a barrell of apples wch had layn in very dry sea-sand since [autumn] they were very firm and sound, thô many had a little speck of faided, and a very few were rotten."

The hall at Crosby must have been swarming with rats and mice. On one occasion squire and chaplain "took down the bed and most of the hangings in ye parlor cham[ber]" and killed two rats. Another time the squire tried an "experiment wth eleven living miss in a hot-pot." This "experiment" seems to have been the horribly cruel one recorded in an old recipe for freeing a house of mice. "Put one or more quick [*i.e.*, live] mice in a long or deep earthen pot, and set the same unto a fire of ashwood, and when the pot begins to wax hot, the mice therein will chirp or make a noise, whereat all the

mice that are nigh them will run towards them, and so will leap into the fire, as though they should come to help their poor imprisoned friends and neighbours. The cause whereof Miraldus ascribes to the smoke of the ashwood." It is to be regretted that the squire did not record the result of this experiment as he did that of another: "I made a mixture of part of a legg of rosted mutton, etc., to draw rats together to one place. I think it killd none of them." The squire was a handy man about the house, and did not confine himself to the

Crosby Hall in 1736.

From an Old Drawing

pursuit of rats and mice. He "took the hous-clock to peeses"; he "fixed the hous bell better than it was and put a new rope to it"; severely whipped one of his dogs for taking a shoulder of mutton off the spit; mended the smoothing iron; "took the coffy mill to pieces to see what was the falt with it"; made milk punch; made his own ink; baked his own clay pipes; "rosted steeped wheat to make coffy on, but it did not doe well"; "clensed some of the windows with chalk," but that also did not "doe well"; killed three of his cats for eating

the cheeses; grew eye-bright, which he used as a substitute for tobacco; "made some math [*i.e.*, mead], a mistake both in ye quantity of hunny and water"; and on occasion would mend the spinning wheel or help his wife to make York gingerbread, and in various other ways make himself generally useful.

The squire's family were often in need of medical advice, and the squire seems to have had a good opinion of his own capabilities as a medical man. He made a "dose of phisick for Wm. Tompson for ye dropsy," made up doses of powder for the falling sickness for Mary Pilkington's sister, gave Pat Clifton some eye balsam, "being one of his eyes is very bad," and made an "incomperable salve for a cut or a bruse." Blundell even took his own physic, "a drought of sack and oyle, but found no great good by it." The squire tried to cure corns by steeping his feet in hot whey for about two hours to make the corns come out by the roots, but lost faith in the remedy when he found it did not answer. Such home treatment was inevitable at a time when medical aid, skilled or unskilled, was difficult to obtain. When his father lay dying the young squire and his servants had to scour the country for miles round to find a physician. Dr. Farington was not to be found, Dr. Bostock, of Whitchurch, would not come, but Dr. Worthington, of Wigan, visited the patient. When the squire's eyes were affected Dr. Cawood, an oculist, came from Dublin, and lodged with his patient, who put himself to some trouble to get the oculist other patients in the Liverpool district. For the most part, trivial matters were attended to by the squire, women, or barbers. "Widow Bolton, a chirurganess, came hither to dress a cut that Fanny has got over her eye"; Mrs. Blundell "went to Mrs. Bootle, of the Peele, to shew her her finger that was burned," and to the same woman when her leg was sore. Duke "bluddyed my wife," and "Rich. Carter let me blood." Teeth were pulled out by—as the squire

frankly puts it—mountebanks. In this connection may be mentioned what looks like a bit of folk-lore: "Pat Bartlet lanced Mary Molyneux in her gumbs for the tooth aich and mixed some powder of Roman vitriall with her blood."

The squire's household consisted of a large number of domestics, the most important of them being the chaplain. When in want of a chaplain the squire had written to the Provincial that he desired "a man of wit and conversation, one that can preach well and is willing to take pains among ye poore Catholicks, of wch we have a great many, and one that is of a good humour and will be easy and contented with tollerable good fair," etc. The salary offered was £8 per annum, a sum which compares not unfavourably with the £12 or £15 which was often the stipend of the contemporary Protestant curate. The chaplain, of course, was a bachelor, and had food and lodgings found for him, while the curate, almost invariably a married man with a family, had to make ends meet by keeping school, farming, or weaving. Whether Father Aldred was a good parish priest we know not, but he certainly fulfilled the squire's requirements in other directions, and could do things which were not necessarily part of a chaplain's duty. He shaved the squire's head now and then, and helped him to make a sledge, and was his constant companion in sport and pleasure. And when Mr. Aldred died the squire "helped to lay him out."

Though we are tempted now and then to envy our ancestors their servants, faithful and devoted beings, who carefully saved all their wages to be placed at their master's disposal in times of difficulty, Blundell's diary, like that of Pepys', shows that even two hundred years ago servants and masters were pretty much what they are to-day, and that long service was even then an exception. Blundell mentions one man who had served his grandfather for eighteen years, and another, an old

cowman, of no very long service, whom he maintained at "my own hous with apparell and all things necessary." One girl was evidently of the stuff of which faithful servants are made: "Ellen Norton had her wages payed with orders to be gon, on account of some words that past, *but she went not.*" Another of the same kind was Bradley, who, after a "grand falling out," "went out of the hous with an intention to goe quite away, but she came back again." One of the servants often mentioned was Walter Thelwall, who, on one occasion, "left the hous in a fret upon account of a falst story told him by his wife relaiting to my wife." Mrs. Thelwall confessed her fault, and "Watty" came back, and it was not until some years later that the squire recorded: "Walter Thelwall left my service; he has been servant here about thirty-three years." Mary Molineux went away in a passion and stayed away all night. John Bannister received a quarter's warning, but he and the squire "peesed again"; and "Mary Wogden left her service obruptly and without any occasion and took no leave."

The squire had his share of dishonest and idle servants. Returning to his house earlier than he was expected, he "found Grace Pilkington endeavouring to open the Dining Roome dore with some Keys she had got to get Apples to give to Ince Servants." Again he "intercepted a Peece of Beef as Marg. Ridgat was sending to her mother, for which I turned her out of my hous for this Night, but upon her great Submission I took her the next day." But Margaret had a fright in store for her. A few days later "James Davys the Cunstable came hither" to carry her "before Sir Thom. Johnson, but my wife beged me to pardon her." On one occasion he found two of his men "playing of Reed pips when they should have been geting potatows."

"Followers" were discountenanced, especially when they and the maids were engaged in that old method of love-making which consisted in sitting up at night, later

probably than conduced either to hard work on the following day or to good morals. "Catty Howard and Nanny Blundell should have set up in the night with their Sweet-hearts, but they were discovered and prevented," and Nanny got "chaptered" the next day by her father. Another time the squire found Mary Holme and Henry Bridge in the Gatehouse Chamber about four in the morning, for which Mary was dismissed, and a like fate befel the female portion of "two cupple of woosters" whom the squire "disturmed" with their "sparks" before three in the morning.

Generally the squire and his servants were on friendly terms, and at all the festivities both men and maids seem to have had opportunities of enjoying themselves. Social distinctions were not much insisted upon; the maid's brother dined with the family when he visited his sister, and if a liveried man's hair needed cutting the squire was not too proud to use the scissors.

The squire, though a Catholic, was eligible for the office of churchwarden, and when, at the earnest solicitation of Parson Letus, he accepted that position, his local patriotism overmastered whatever feelings he might be expected to have had against the heretic church. He flung himself into the work of his office, and we find him looking after the repairs to the leads, "discoursing" a plumber for charging too much for work done, and dining amicably with the neighbouring parsons, with whom, indeed, he was always very friendly.

The squire had a Quakerly dislike of church leys, and at Farnworth Chapel, where he had a pew, he "did declare" he would "not pay by way of church ley towards maintaining the Parson." Nor did he, and "though six church leys had been gathered he got his back again." In the hour of victory he opened his heart and his purse and gave "6s. 6d. to Parson Ainscow [*i.e.*, Ainscough] as a free guift."

The squire was no Tom Touchy, but he occasionally

"lawed" a neighbour for poaching or otherwise infringing his rights. He was probably a freeman of Liverpool, for on two occasions he successfully resisted claims for toll on business transactions there. He insisted on his right to boon-hens; he "ordered" his "tenants in the Morehouses to sett Starr upon Fryday next"; he called at Darby's "and discoursed him and his wife about their son katching rabets," and he prosecuted Thomas Hartley for shooting wild ducks in his demesne and "cast him." In 1725 he went to William Davys and "falted him for seting his wives teneament without my consent; his answer was he cair'd not one Pin, he wld set that and his other teneament to whom he list, and I might doe my worst." A little later he "try'd Skinner Davy before Mr. Goodwin, the Maior of Lever: for detracting me and saying severall scurrilous things of me," and early in the next year "Wm. Davy, the skinner gave me £10 at Leverp, for which I engag'd not to prosecute him by Law, and promised to forgive him all Misdemainors past which I knew of." One man whom the squire prosecuted was burned in the hand by order of Judge Tracy.

The squire tells us a little of the state of morality in Lancashire in the reign of Queen Anne. Betting seems to have accompanied all kinds of sport then as it does now, and odd wagers were made. Blundell had a bet with his chaplain as to which could gather the most pins within twelve months. Wagers were laid as to the number of holes in a flageolet, and as to the capacity of the "eshen," and sometimes business and betting were combined, as when the squire sold a mare for £4 cash and £11 more upon "the birth of my first son by my now wife." The purchaser, perhaps hearing that Mrs. Blundell was likely to present her husband with a child, quickly repented of the bargain, and would have sent the mare back had the squire allowed him to. As the squire had no sons he lost his bet.

Drunkenness, as such, is rarely mentioned, but drink was consumed on every conceivable occasion, and there are occasional references which certainly suggest excess: "We dined at ye Sun at Low Hill, a larg shot, ill drunk." "We were very merry." "We men were extreaimly merry." "We set up drinking till morning," and "we drunk hard in the Summerhous."

The virago appears in 1723: "There was a riding for Ann Norris, who had beaten her husband; they called here in their round."

Of the squire at his amusements and more or less intellectual activities the diary tells us much. The squire could have had only a moderate education, the universities being closed to the conscientious Catholic. His handwriting is very legible, his spelling not good even for that period, and his arithmetic was also weak if we may judge it by this entry: "I endeavoured to cast up part of the Slating and Flagging at Ditton, but was so long blundering about it that I dozed myself." He occasionally transcribed music. He knew how to "take the Meridon," to "circle three poynts," and to survey a field. He once had a visit from "Mr. John Jackson, one of the Masters of Mathematicks at Leverpoole," still remembered as the author of the first book printed at Manchester.

Blundell sometimes went "simpling" (the ancestor of botanising) to the sandhills.

The squire was not a true book-lover. He kept his books in a cupboard, where they "were damnifyed by the wet." He appears to have read only when he was absolutely without anything else to do, as on his visit to Lady Gerard, when he walked in the gardens and read most of the day. When he was in hiding during the rebellion of 1715 he read *England's Jests*, Burton's *Unparalled Adventures* and the *English Rogue*. The last would not be an unsuitable companion for Macaulay's country squire, and perhaps Squire Blundell had a

sufficient amount of human nature to enjoy it thoroughly. But we hope that his reading was not all of this type. Let us assume, for his credit's sake, that he had had a peep into the "religious books" which the custom-house officers cruelly confiscated on his return from the Continent. The large *Lives of the Saints*, Masaniello's *Revolution at Naples*, and "*Ye Prognostications of Esqr. Bigerstaff*" are mentioned. The squire bought books at the valuation of a neighbour's goods, spent some little time at "Mr. Eaton's aucktion of books" in Liverpool, and was now and then favoured with a visit from Steward, the travelling bookseller, who opened his pack in the squire's hall, and did a good trade with both master and servants. Newspapers were scarce, and though Liverpool is supposed to have had its own paper at the time, it does not appear that the squire subscribed to one. On one occasion he stayed "pritty late" at Ince, "expecting the newspaper," and on another he "went to Cowley's to read the news."

The squire was undoubtedly a lover of prints, pictures, and medals. He had a copperplate engraving made of some of the coins of the Harkirke find, and the visits of a pedlar with "pictures and tenns" and resulting purchases are mentioned more than once. The squire was himself something of a draughtsman, and was able to "draw out part of a modell for Mr. Aldred's new hous," and to make a church of "Paletine" work, which he hung up in his hall.

The squire was not at all indisposed to take such opportunities as offered of seeing theatrical performances. He never gives a hint as to the quality of the actors, but as he names part of the cast of the "Soldier's Fortune," we know that some of them, at any rate, were amateurs, for Blundell's servant Watty had a part. The actors, whether barnstormers or amateurs, performed some plays that are still remembered, as well as some which were then not so dead and forgotten as they have since become.

"In my hall," "at Davy's" (an inn), at some local fair, or in Liverpool, Blundell saw acted "The Gamester," Farquhar's "Recruiting Officer," Otway's "Soldier's Fortune," Lansdowne's "She Gallants," Nathaniel Lee's "Sophonisba, or Hannibal's Overthrow," Shirley's "School of Compliments," "The Silent Woman," Shakspere's "Macbeth" and "Taming of the Shrew," Centlivre's "Busybody," "Don Quick-sot" (probably Durfey's "Comical History of Don Quixote," which received, not undeservedly, the censures of Jeremy Collier for its immorality), and plays called "The Earl of Essex," "Yeoman of Kent," and "The Queen of Scots." But in Lancashire, which then had no theatre, the pleasures of playgoing were not often obtainable.

The squire never missed a chance of seeing a "sight" in his own neighbourhood. He saw at Liverpool an elephant, an uncommon animal in England at the time; the "great Saxon Maxemilcan Christofer Miller," a giant, no doubt; and twice he saw the "little woman Catherin, she was a Hanaverian, she was near one yard and insh high as could be." On another occasion he saw Matthew Buckinger, an unfortunate individual, who was born without hands and feet. Says the squire, "I saw him writ very well with his stumps, and tipe very dexterously some nine pins down, and play tricks of Leger-de-Mene." The squire also saw a "man eat fier and saw a peece of mill stone greet about four inshes thick broke upon his brest with a hammer." A travelling German showed him a "coach and four horses with people in it made all of ivory that did not weigh two grains," and he saw "the child which was born (as I think at Garston) without legs or armes." At Ormskirk fair he showed his children those "strange creatures," the tiger and the civet cat.

Of non-professional curiosities there was Peter Shinehead, whom he saw "stand in the Pillery at Leverp. for writing against Dr. Secheverall and the Church of

England," and old Major Brodnax, who told the squire "that in March next he will be 108 years of aige," and the squire adds, "he has his memory perfectly well, and talks extreamly strongly and haartully without any seeming decay of his spirrits."

It was in London, not in Lancashire, that the squire indulged his appetite for the abnormal, curious, and interesting, but we must confine ourselves to our own county.

The squire records a few astronomical phenomena. On May 18th, 1710, "My wife and I saw the Strange Starr; it appeared about the East and Shot downwards towards the North, the Streamer of it seemed to be fully four yards long, it appeared about half an hour after nine at night and lasted about the space of half an Ave Maria," and he "observed the great Eclips of the Sun" on April 22nd, 1715.

Outdoor sports occupied a great part of the squire's time. Bowling was perhaps his favourite game, and, judging by the number of greens, it must have been as fashionable then as golf is now. In this game the neighbouring parsons and squires—Protestant and Catholic—met in friendly rivalry. And after the game the whole party would adjourn to the Black Bull or some other convenient house, and there spend a jovial time. The bowling matches were usually between friends, but occasionally the sides were arranged for betting purposes, as when at Grange Green two young men of Ince and two old fellows of Formby played together, amongst the spectators on this occasion being "a slave from Turkey." So enthusiastic were the bowlers that even night did not always give rest to their woods, and games were played by "moone light and one candle." The end of the bowling season was marked by an extra carouse and a dinner.

Another sport in which the squire took delight was the now happily extinct "cocking." Cockfighting was

an elaborate business. Plates were fought for, and the contests lasted for more than one day. On one Easter Monday there was a "great cocking at Mrs. Ann Rothwell's; they played battle Victory. I had two Cocks in the Battles, and one of them got two Battles." So interested was the squire that although Mrs. Blundell, of Ince, and Mr. Turvill were visiting at the hall, he "came not to them from the Cocking." He does not tell us what Mrs. Blundell, of Crosby, had to say to him for his lack of courtesy. The company assembled at a cocking included respectable people. "I went to Crosby Greene, there was Parson Brooks [*i.e.*, Thomas Brooke, vicar of Walton-on-the-Hill], Parson Davys, Bannion of Ormschurch, Mr. Haymar, Doctor Bromfield, etc. There were several cocks brought from Leverp. and Ormesch., which fought upon the Green. I saw three or four Battles."

Horse-racing was a favourite sport of the squire's, and though he appears not to have run horses himself he took a keen interest in the doings of his neighbours' horses and he subscribed to the Liverpool Plate. The Crosby racecourse was the joint property of Lord Molyneux and of Mr. Blundell, and the latter's grandfather had been for many years manager of the races. Horse-racing had not then degenerated from its original purpose. The entries were few in number, and the owners, who were almost invariably of the local gentry, not infrequently rode their own horses. We do not hear of gate-money in connection with the races, nor of more gambling than has usually accompanied all sports The Crosby course was not the only one in the neighbourhood. At Aughton Moss, near Ormskirk, races were held regularly, and the squire was a frequent attender, and he also went to races at Wallasey, Childwall, and Liverpool.

The squire was interested in hunting, but latterly, at

any rate, was too bulky to join in the sport. In his early days he helped at the hunting and killing of a very fat buck in my Lord Gerard's park, and at the killing of a white buck in Dutton Park. The hare and the fox were then, as now, the main providers of sport for the hunters, and even when sport failed entirely there was compensation: "I met Lord Molin. a hunting; we found no Hair; we dined at the Sun at Low Hill." In his later years he sometimes went on to the leads of his house and watched the fox-hunters in the North Hey and Little Eases.

Shooting was indulged in at times, though the squire was not, apparently, a good shot. On the few occasions when he mentions the bag it was made by the chaplain, and not by the squire. Father Aldred on one occasion shot a bittern, and on another he and others shot three swans, the largest of which weighed above 27 lbs., was 5 ft. $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long, and 8 ft. 5 ins. across. The stonebrow, which appears to have been what we call a catapult, was used for killing rooks. Archery was practised in 1708, when we read that "Mr. Howet and I shot with bow and arrows, and when we had done we went to Ned Luckase's to pay our loosings in Aile." Coursing, skating, sledging, tennis, pitching the crow, and throwing the hammer are also mentioned.

Indoor amusements were numerous, and the squire enjoyed them to the full. He was fond of sleight of hand, and was accomplished in that direction. He records, with satisfaction, the date when he first set an egg on end on a looking-glass, not, it may be presumed, in the rough-and-ready way in which Columbus is said to have performed the same feat. Of card games there are mentioned cut, trente-et-quarante, loo, whisk, brag, and picquet. Carding was then an absorbing pastime. "Anderton played here at night; there was little dansing, but great carding."

Two kinds of backgammon are mentioned—tick-tack

and tables. The latter was evidently very fascinating, for "I found Darby and Skinner Blundell playing at Tables at Ailes Davys after eleven of the Clock at Noon; they had been playing all the night."

Chess was played, and also passage and in-and-in, two kinds of dice, and there were other ways of killing time: "We discoursed of Learning and salved Enigmas." Puzzles were not unknown. "Mr. Turvill made a viset here; he brought the Cuning purs, as was somthing hard to be opened." To a similar category belonged the "comicall drinking glass," and also the "fancifull Ring of Mugg Mettle to drink out of," which the squire bought, and "brock it ere" he "got it home."

There was horseplay now and then. "We toosed Wm. Roostich in a blanket," writes the squire; but this was after dinner.

"Merrie England" peeps out of many an entry in the diary. "There were about 64 young people playing in a Ring on my Green, and about 20 spectators." The village people had merry nights at not infrequent intervals. The merry night was a kind of rustic ball, the music being provided by fiddler and piper, but dancing was not allowed to monopolize the evening, for we read of "chaising the whistle," which appears to have been a variant of "hunting the slipper," firing of guns, and stool ball. The last was a game in which the lads and the lasses took sides, the losers having to provide the winners with a tansy—a dish made of eggs, sugar, sack, cream, and the juice of tansies fried in butter. Herrick, in his *Hesperides*, refers to this custom:—

> At stool ball, Lucia, let us play
> For sugar-cakes and wine,
> Or for a tansy, let us pay,
> The losse be thine or mine.
> If thou, my deere, a winner be
> At trundling of the ball,

The wager thou shalt have, and me
And my misfortunes all.
But if (my sweetest) I shall get,
Then I desire but this:
That likewise I may pay the bet,
And have for all a kisse.

We can well imagine that kissing was an essential part of the Lancashire game as of Herrick's. At all the merry nights the squire and his family seem to have been present with the hall servants.

Other rural fesitvals were the flax-breaking and the flowering of the marlpits, each of which seems to have been somewhat on the lines of the harvest-home, a rejoicing at the conclusion of very hard work. The squire writes:—

I had a great breaking of Flax, there was 12 Breakers, 12 scutchers, 11 slansers, 4 to tend 2 gigs and 1 to take up ye Flax, in all 40 persons, I gave a good supper to my own breakers and swinglers. Tatlock played to ym. to night, we had 4 disgisers and a garland from Gt. Crosby and a deal of dansing.

The marling, or the flowering of the marlpit, was a festival of which much was made by squire and tenantry. Successive entries in the diary for July, 1712, are worth reading:—

3. I made a sword dance against my marlpit is flower'd.

7. I was very busy most o ye afternoone shaping Tinsall &c. for the garland for my new marlpit and after supper ye women helped to paste some things for it. I began to teach the 8 sword dancers their dance. . . . Dr. Cawood played to them.

8. I was very busy making Kaps &c. for my marlers and dansers, severall of Gt Crosby Lasses helped me. The young women of this Town, Morehouses and Gt Crosby dressed ye garlands in my barne. I taught my 8 sword dancers their dance, they had musick and danced it in my barn.

9. I was extreamly busy all morning making some things to adorn my marlers heads. My Marl pit was flowered very much to ye satisfaction of ye spectators, all the 14 marlers had a particular dress upon their heads and carried each of them a musket or gun. The 6 garlands &c. were carried by young women in prosestion, the 8 sword dansers went

along with them to ye marlpit where they dansed, the musick was by Gerald Holsold and his son and Rich Tatlock at night. They dansed in ye barne. Tho. Lathord of Leverp. brought me to ye Marlpit a Dogg coller agst my bull bate as is to be in ye pit.

15. I baited a large bull in ye bottom of my new marlpit, he was never baited before as I know of, yet played to admiration, there was 8 or 9 doggs played ye 1st bait and onely two ye 3rd bait, I think there was not above 2 doggs but was very ill hurt, I gave a coller to be played for but no dogg cld get it fairly, so I gave it to Rich: Spencer o Leve: being his dogg best deserved it.

18. Mr. Ald: began to make some kaps for some of my sword dancers agst ye finishing day.

23. I had my finishing day for my marling, and abundance of my neighbours and tenants eat and drunk with me in ye after noone, severall of them had made presents to my wife of sugar, chickens, butter, &c. All my marlers, spreaders, water baylis and carters din'd here. We fetched home ye maypole from ye pit and had sword dansing and a merry night in ye Hall and in ye Barne, Ric Tatlock played to them.

With this passage we close our extracts from Nicholas Blundell's diary.

LIVERPOOL

By Lieut.-Colonel Fishwick, F.S.A.

NO Norman soldier, Saxon thane, or Danish marauder appears to have been tempted or driven by adverse chances of war to effect a settlement on the spot that is now covered by the mighty city of Liverpool. It is unknown alike to prehistoric and pre-Norman fame. On the banks of the Mersey, five and twenty miles to the north, we find traces enough of early settlers, but the river Mersey is only first mentioned in a charter of the time of Ethelred in A.D. 1004. It is true, indeed, that many of the place-names in the vicinity of Liverpool afford evidence of Danish settlers, but there is nothing to lead us to suppose that at the mouth of the Mersey there was anything like even a village community. In that important national record commonly known as the *Domesday Survey*, Liverpool is not even named; but this can only be accepted as negative evidence, for the Domesday Book was not a survey, but a kind of rate-book to assist the assessment and collection of the tax known as the Danegeld. In the early part of the reign of Henry II. (probably about 1170), Warin, the youngest son of Gilbert de Furnes, Baron of Kendal, was appointed keeper of the castle and prison of Lancaster, and subsequently received from the King, amongst other lands, the manor of Up-Litherland and Liverpool. This grant was confirmed by John, Count of Mortain (1189-1194), to Henry de Lancaster, son of Warin, and by charter, dated August 23rd, 1207, King John granted to him the manor of English Lea in exchange for Liverpool

and Up-Litherland. The manor of English Lea is part of the hamlet of Lea, in the parish of Preston, and lies adjacent to the river Ribble—to this day it consists almost entirely of agricultural lands; in the time of Henry V. it was estimated as being worth five marks a year. About the year 1150 the Birkenhead Priory, on the opposite side of the Mersey, was founded, and doubtless this in some degree helped to develop Liverpool, to which a further impetus was given by increased means of communication with Ireland, which, in A.D. 1170, had been partially conquered. The good people of Liverpool hold to the belief that King John passed through the town on his way from Lancaster to Chester; but, be that as it may, it is certain that by letters patent, dated August 28th, A.D. 1207, as an inducement for people to settle in Liverpool, its burgesses were assured that henceforth they should have all the liberties and customs which any free borough on the sea-coast enjoyed. Henry III., in 1229, granted a charter, which gave to the burgesses the right to have a guild merchant, and a right to prevent anyone who was not a freeman of that guild from carrying on any trade in the borough. For these privileges the burgesses paid ten marks, and by a charter, dated two days afterwards, the King leased to his "honest men of Liverpool" his "town of Liverpool" for four years at an annual rent of £10. After the expiration of this lease the burgesses probably continued to be lessees, and received from time to time royal confirmation of their charter and grants of other rights. At this period the two largest and most important towns in the county were Preston and Lancaster, for tallage (taxes) in 3 Henry III. (1218-19) Liverpool was called upon to pay half a mark (6s. 8d.), whilst Lancaster contributed £5 and Preston £6 13s. 4d. In 1347 there was a ferry across the Mersey valued at £2 a year; there was also a fair, the tolls of which were worth 13s. 9d., and a water-mill of the value of 24s.

a year. In the middle of the preceding century, amongst the possessions of the Earl of Derby are mentioned two water-mills and one windmill in Liverpool. To the Parliament of 1296 four Lancashire boroughs sent representatives, of which Liverpool was one. The position of Liverpool as a port in the fourteenth century must have been very insignificant, as in 1338, when all the ports in the kingdom were required to furnish ships according to their size and commerce, it could only turn out one solitary barque with a crew of six men.

The castle of Liverpool stood on a rocky elevation, which commanded the mouth of the Mersey; it is said to date back to the time of King John. An account of the Liverpool Castle will be found in the article on "Castles and Fortified Houses."

An Act of Parliament passed in 1544 describes Liverpool as a town which had fallen into decay. At this date it consisted of seven streets, then called Water Street, Castle Street, Dale Street, Moore Street, Chapel Street, Ingler Street, and Mylne Street. Amongst the causes of this decay of the town was its isolation, the roads leading to it from the interior being of a very primitive description, and in some places all but impassable, and the effects of the plague which raged there in 1540 left behind it only one hundred and fifty-one householders in the place; eight years later a second plague carried off nearly three hundred of the population.

At this time the port had only twelve vessels, the largest of which was of forty tons' burden. About this time we find one of the local Members of Parliament imploring the Queen "not to suffer them (the burgesses of Liverpool) to be utterly cast away," but to act towards them "like a mother." The port of Liverpool was at this period a kind of dependency of Chester, and its solitary chapel (St. Nicholas) was a chapel of ease to the mother-church of Walton-on-the-Hill. Before the close of the sixteenth century there was a general revival

LIVERPOOL IN 1779.

From an Old Engraving.

in the trade of Lancashire, in which, no doubt, to some small extent Liverpool partook. The manufacture of woollen cloth was now a well-established industry, and wool and other products were regularly sent to markets across the seas.

Early in the seventeenth century there are signs of a slight improvement in the town and port. In 1618 the latter had twenty-four ships, with an aggregate burden of four hundred and sixty-two tons. One of the sources of revenue of the King's lessee of the custom and tolls of Liverpool arose from ferry-boats across the river. In a pleading in the Duchy Court, in 1529, Henry Ackers (the King's lessee) complained that thirteen persons named in his deposition, having three boats amongst them, had for two years past ferried over His Majesty's subjects and taken the profits thereof, to the great loss of the petitioner.

A few years later Sir Alexander Radcliffe, Knight, the King's deputy-butler, complains to the Chancellor of the Duchy that one William Collinge had brought eighteen tons of wine to a "port and haven called Liverpole," and had sold it and discharged his ship, but had refused to pay the customary prisage. In 1546 a similar claim was made for custom dues on sixty tons of wine, but in this case the defendant was dismissed out of court, his plea being admitted—viz., that he had bargained with Lopy de Nuttea, a Spanish merchant, to deliver the wine at "his own adventure." At this date the number of burgesses had risen to two hundred and forty-five.

When the Civil War began, Liverpool had a strong majority of its inhabitants on the Parliamentary side, and John More, of Bank Hall, one of their representatives at Westminster in October, 1640, was, as might have been expected, a decided Puritan and partizan of Cromwell. The greater number of the Town Council were, however, Royalists, and,

acting under the Royal Commission (in 1642), they put the town in battle array by erecting earthworks round it, putting up gates and bars, outside of which was a fosse twelve yards wide, and for a time the castle and the tower were garrisoned with Royalist troops. At the end of April the town was besieged and captured by Colonel Assheton, who handed it over to Colonel John More (the M.P.), who forthwith placed ordnance on the castle battlements, and had several vessels sent to cruise against the enemy. Until the beginning of 1644 the town was completely governed by the Puritans, but at Whitsuntide (16th June) in that year Prince Rupert appeared on the scene, and, after severe fighting, succeeded in capturing the town; but the result of a third siege returned it into the hands of the Parliamentarians, and Colonel Thomas Birch was appointed governor, and took possession of the castle. According to one authority, in 1641 Liverpool became filled with refugees from Ireland, who ultimately settled there, and when the free-trade with that country from the Mersey was established, they helped to push forward the prosperity of the town, which in 1646 was garrisoned with Parliamentary soldiers. Blome, the topographer, in 1673 describes Liverpool as "commodiously seated on the goodly river Mersey, where it affords a bold and safe harbour for ships, which at low water may ride at four fathoms, and at high, ten." Amongst its inhabitants there were "divers eminent merchants and tradesmen, whose trade and traffic, especially into the West Indies, make it famous," "its situation favouring the exportation to the West Indies and a quick return" for such imported commodities, by reason of the sugar-bakers and great manufacturers of "cottens" in the adjacent parts; these "cottens" were not the cottons of to-day, but a woollen material originally known as coatings. Blome also states that lamprey and smelts were so plentiful that you could buy twenty for a penny. In 1654 the Corporation ordered "two

lanthorns with two candles, burning every night in the dark moon" until eight o'clock, were to be placed at the High Cross and the White Cross, the former standing in what is now High Street, and the latter at the end of Chapel Street. Previous to this we may assume that the streets were in darkness, and as these lights were to be extinguished at eight o'clock, that the inhabitants retired to rest at the tolling of the Curfew bell.

According to the Parliamentary Church Survey made in 1650, Liverpool was a dependent chapelry, and far removed from any other church, and was, in the opinion of the Commissioners, fit to be a distinct parish. It was not, however, until 1699 that St. Nicholas' was made into a parish church. This was done by an Act of Parliament, in the preamble of which it is shown that the town, formerly a small fishing town, had then in it many people from London, and that they carried on a large trade with the plantations and elsewhere, that as a port it ranked third in the kingdom, and that the only chapel in the place would not hold half of the inhabitants; and consequently, in summer-time, "upon pretence of going to the parish church," which was two miles off, and to go to which a village had to be passed through, many people stopped to drink in the said village, by reason of which "many youth and sundry families" were ruined. Evidently in those days the good people of Liverpool required a "three miles" Act.

Towards the end of the century several merchants had settled in Liverpool, and had begun the trade with the plantations, and so increased the commerce that it is stated to have given to the port one-third of the trade of the country, and the customs had increased to £50,000 a year. The growth of the sugar trade was chiefly instrumental in bringing about this result. *The Rental* of Sir Edward More (recently re-edited by Mr. W. F. Irvine) contains the following entry: "One Mr. Smith, a great sugar baker of London . . . came to treat with me

for land on which to build a sugar bakery." "If this is done," he adds, "it will bring a trade of at least £40,000 a year from the Barbadoes, which formerly this town never knew." It was agreed that "a goodly house, four stories high," with a house for boiling at the rear, was to be built. Mr. Smith's partner, John Danvers, became the proprietor of a very large sugar-refining business in the town, to which he came about the year 1670. The opening out of the coal-fields in the neighbourhood of Prescot, and the establishment of potteries there, led to a considerable increase of the exports from the port of the Mersey, so much so that the Corporation of Liverpool, with short-sighted policy, instead of repairing their street, inflicted a fine of 12d. on any person passing through the town to the port with carts laden with coal or "mugs." This they did because the streets were "much decayed and abused."

The slave trade with Africa began in the middle of the sixteenth century, and for long afterwards the merchants of London and Bristol had a monopoly of it, and made immense sums of money thereby. In 1698 this trade became an open one by virtue of an Act of Parliament, but several disputes arising, it was not until 1730 that the arrangements were completed to the satisfaction of all parties. Liverpool, however, did not wait for this, but in 1709 sent across to Africa a barque of thirty tons' burthen, which carried fifteen slaves; but we have no record of any similar venture until 1730, when there sailed from the Mersey fifteen vessels of the average burthen of seventy-five tons. In seven years this number was more than doubled, and in 1751 it had increased to fifty-three vessels, with an aggregate burthen of 5,334 tons, and nearly all these carried slaves; and there were then in Liverpool over one hundred merchants, members of the African Trading Company. At this date this lucrative trade became the chief business of the port of the Mersey. Ships specially adapted for the carriage

of slaves were built, and in the town itself negro men, women, and children were not infrequently offered for sale by public auction.

Some of the Liverpool merchants also sent out privateers during the Seven Years' War between France and Spain, and for some time subsequently. In these adventures the owners of the vessels were not always successful; in many cases their losses were considerable.

After the peace of 1763, Liverpool launched out still further in the slave trade, so much so that she soon eclipsed and almost annihilated the trade from Bristol to Africa. The final abolition of the trade in 1807 had, of course, a temporary adverse effect on the commerce of Liverpool, from which, however, it quickly recovered. The vastness of the trade may be judged from the fact that between the years 1783 and 1793 Liverpool sent out over nine hundred ships, which carried 303,737 slaves, the market value of which were said to be £15,186,856.

In the early part of the eighteenth century the old castle was razed to the ground, and upon its site was built, in 1725, St. George's Church, which was in 1899 pulled down for street improvements.

On the occasion of the rebellion of 1715, Liverpool was loyal, and threw up intrenchments and mounted ordnance thereon, but through the surrender of the rebels at Preston these defences were rendered unnecessary. For the rising of 1745 even more elaborate preparations were made, and £6,000 was raised amongst the inhabitants to arm and equip a regiment of foot six hundred and forty-eight strong, which afterwards were ordered to join the Duke of Cumberland in the siege of Carlisle. After the surrender of Carlisle, the Liverpool Blues (as they were called) were dismissed with a fitting tribute to their zeal and valour.

The close of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth witnessed a wonderful progress in Lancashire. The introduction of machinery and its

substitution for hand-labour brought with it the building of mills and workshops of every description, and at once opened a further field for enterprise, which was promptly seized by the Liverpool investors, and rapidly the port rose to a very high position. In 1834 the bales of cotton imported and landed in London were 40,000, but at Liverpool in the same year were landed 839,000, which in 1868 had risen to 3,326,543 bales. In 1862 20,289 vessels entered the port of Liverpool. The population of Liverpool in 1801 was 77,653 inhabitants. It was made a city on May 11th, 1880, and its parish church became a cathedral. Of this city as it is to-day, it is not in the scope of this article to treat; but it may briefly be stated that its miles of docks, with the overhead electric railways running from end to end, its churches, hospitals, libraries, museum, schools, and other public institutions, have all been kept up to date, and that Liverpool at the close of the nineteenth century is worthy of her past history, and stands in the foremost rank amongst the seaports of the world.

MUSIC IN LANCASHIRE DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

By Samuel Andrew

PERHAPS no English county has contributed so much to "Merrie England" as Lancashire, whose innate love of music is drawn from very early sources. Under the ancient land system certain public officials in the village community, including the musicians, were endowed with pieces or strips of land. This gave such a permanency and predominance to the local love of music that traces of the system survived in Lancashire up to the fourteenth century; while in the sixteenth century Michael Drayton, a contemporary of Shakespeare, paints wonderful miniatures of Lancashire life in his *Polyolbion*, as the two following extracts will prove:—

"CONTENTION BETWEEN IRWELL AND RIBBLE."

The neat Lancastrian Nymphes for beauty that excell,
That for the hornpipe round doe bear away the bell.

"HEY FOR LANCASHIRE."

So blyth and bonny now the lads and lasses are
That ever as anon the Bagpipe up doth blow,
Cast in a gallant round about the harth they goe,
And at each pause they kisse, was never seen such rule
In any place but heere at Boonfire or at Yeule;
And every village smokes at Wakes with lusty cheer,
Then "Hey," they cry, "for Lun" and "Hey for Lancashire."

One of the complaints made by some of the Lancashire clergy in 1590 was that the people brought the parties to be married "to and from churche with pipings." No doubt this gay life would receive a severe shock by the Puritans in the seventeenth century, but with the advent of the eighteenth century Lancashire quite restored "Merrie England" to itself again, and during that century old customs and survivals had not only been renewed but

they had gathered strength and momentum. No occasion or function, public or private, whether social, domestic, or personal, was allowed to pass without the accompaniment of vocal or instrumental music, string or pipe. True, the bagpipe had gone almost out of use, but the "fife and drum" had taken its place, while the fiddle had taken the place of an instrument known as the "crowd," and the "fiddler," with "his trembling string," like the "poor," was "always with us."

The usual Church ales and festivals, the old manorial feasts and guisings, the quaint churn dances held at every farm that had a "churn getting," the wakes, fairs, rush carts, and Morris dances, the merry meals, maypoles, mummings, and bonfires, and even domestic everyday occurrences such as births, christenings, weddings, and funerals, all found some employment for the local musician. Yes, and even occasions of domestic prosperity and misfortune.

Secular music during the eighteenth century was probably as popular as it ever had been in any previous century, and its execution no doubt improved in proportion to the influence brought to bear on it by those who had received efficient training at the hands of musicians who understood and could read music at sight.

Secular music may be termed the wild olive branch of music. Previous to the eighteenth century it had not been subject to the training influence of Royal Academicians or other Masters of Art, but at the end of the seventeenth century other musical influences had been restored to life which for the previous half century had been suppressed and penalised. The restriction had applied to what few theatres there were, but there were not many in Lancashire, it being chiefly directed at sacred music in cathedrals, churches, and private houses. Choirs had been disbanded and church organs destroyed, either by neglect or actual violence. I forget at which church it was that the fanatics took out the organ pipes and broke each other's heads with them. However, it was at Manchester Collegiate

Church that the first scintillations of musical renascence were to be observed in Lancashire. Old Warden Heyrick had stamped on musical services with both his feet. His successor was Warden Stratford, who through much tribulation revived choral services at the Collegiate Church, and made new statutes for the regulation of the singing men and boys, eventually, in 1684, building a Father Schmidt organ and restoring the old daily Matin and Evensong. What influence this had on the surrounding old parish churches is not recorded, but we find some signs of musical revival at Bolton and Middleton within the next ten years. In 1695 we find that a man named Abraham Hurst came to Oldham and had called on his way at Bolton and Middleton. He opened a school at Oldham for teaching sacred music in connection with the old church, and about 1696 he took his pupils, sixty in number, to sing to the organ at Manchester Collegiate Church. Abraham Hurst did not long remain at Oldham as a teacher of music, but his mantle fell on one of his pupils named Elias Hall, who committed to writing much valuable information relating to the condition and progress of psalm-singing.

At the time that the school for singing was formed at Oldham psalm-singing was dead throughout the Lancashire churches, and the revival was strongly condemned by many of the older generation of Puritans, who regarded it as one of the works of Satan; and one old man in Oldham, on being informed of a young pupil who intended joining the school of music, "prayed that God would strike him dumb."

Great progress was made by the young singers, who, after a short training, were allowed to enliven the dead service of the church with their melody, and for a time one hymn tune, named "Isle of Providence," *alias* "St. David's," had to do duty for both morning and evening services.

Elias Hall and some of his fellow-pupils who were

"hot on the subject" had obtained from their late master (Hurst) certain secrets relating to the system of musical notation, which enabled them, by mutual assistance, to read tunes from the old tune books, which had been out of use for nearly a century. These tunes were practised in school and sung at the Sunday services in church. This eventually led to Elias Hall's thorough acquaintance with the system known as the Old Lancashire Notation, which he evidently took a great part in founding.

The late Warden Stratford of Manchester had become Bishop of Chester, and in 1701 held an episcopal visitation in Manchester, when he gave Elias Hall permission to establish schools of music wherever he liked in the diocese of Chester. In this way many schools were established in connection with old parish churches for many miles around Manchester.

In 1708 Elias Hall wrote his *Psalm-Singers' Compleat Companion*, and he spent his time in going from place to place giving instruction on the Old Lancashire Notation.

At Oldham church, in 1713, a singers' gallery was built, and a list of names is preserved of those who composed the first regular choir, together with a plan of the seats showing where each member sat. Shortly after this differences arose both among the singers and between them and the church authorities. This led to the severance of Elias Hall from the first Oldham Musical Society, and in 1716 his annals end, no further trace of the history of the society or of the choir being found for many years. The good work begun at Oldham did not, however, end there. Names of members of the old choir were found in after years in other places, say, at Shaw Chapel in 1740, and at Hey Chapel in 1742, while in the year 1763 the Oldham Musical Society was re-formed, and the names of the members who composed it are still on record.

Elias Hall in 1696, on the invitation of Mr. Pigott, the vicar of Rochdale, took his choristers to perform the musical service in the parish church there, where heretofore

singing had been reduced to the smallest proportion. The performers came from Oldham in a cart, and the service, with the additional anthems and chants, was much prolonged, but the vicar was so delighted with it that he took Hall and his choristers at once over to the "Royal Oak," and there gave them a royal feast. At this time in Rochdale, and throughout South Lancashire, during the thirty-four years of Pigott's incumbency, only three tunes were sung in the church. This action of the vicar's was very unpopular at the time, and was said to savour of Popery, yet in less than seven years an organ was placed in the church and an organist appointed at a salary of £20 a year.

During the former part of the eighteenth century musical culture had spread to the adjoining counties of York, Derby, and Cheshire, chiefly by means of local musical societies, and this movement was the cause of the sublime works of Handel and other composers being made popular.

Members of the first three original societies extended their operations almost throughout England. In the early days of the three choirs of Gloucester, Worcester, and Hereford cathedrals, these societies sent singers, both principal and choral, to assist in the annual festivals.

In the days of Samuel Johnson, Lichfield Cathedral had two vicars-choral, Saville and Warren, both formerly connected with the Lancashire societies.

When the London Catch Club and the Antient Concerts were patronised and supported by royalty and nobility, some of their favourite singers came from Lancashire, and on one occasion the conductor immortalised both himself and Lancashire singers by calling at the top of his voice, "Make way for the Lancashire ladies"; and it was during one of those periodical fits of agitation and despondency to which King George III. was subject that Mr. and Mrs. Joah Bates, both formerly connected with Lancashire and Yorkshire, were admitted into the royal chamber to soothe the royal patient with the consolations of sacred music.

THE CROSSES OF LANCASHIRE

By P. H. Ditchfield, M.A., F.S.A., F.R.S.L., F.R.H.S.

THE County Palatine of Lancashire, in spite of the growth of modern manufactures, its huge towns and cities and vast overgrown villages, in spite of the smoke and grime and the restless spirit of modernism, retains many features of its ancient beauties, many relics of a great and historic past. Foremost among these antiquarian treasures stand the old crosses, that adorn many a town and hamlet, and carry our thoughts back to the time when the county was a sparsely inhabited district, long before the days of the factory and the steam-engine. During recent years the attention of antiquarians has been greatly attracted by these curious relics of bygone times. The crosses of many counties have been closely examined. Those of Somerset, Cornwall, Cumberland, and the Isle of Man have found their chroniclers. Mr. Romilly Allen lavished the vast store of his learning on deciphering the legends of scroll and carving, and Lancashire has been fortunate in finding an accomplished antiquary to investigate the crosses that abound in that favoured county. Two years ago Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A., published a large, learned, and elaborate work on the subject, and he has kindly allowed us to make use of some of the results of his labours and to reproduce some of the most famous examples of early art. Whatever merit this record may possess is due to him, while its defects are those of the present writer.

A glance at the Ordnance Survey maps shows the sites and remains, and in some cases the actual existing examples,

EAST FACE.

WEST FACE.

WHALLEY.

of the numerous wayside, boundary, market, and other crosses that were scattered broadcast over the length and breadth of the county in amazing numbers. The most fruitful portion of the shire for the quest of the antiquary is the Ribble valley, and in that refuge of recusants, that old-world district which, prior to the Norman Conquest, was known as "betwax Ribbel and Moerse," and which is represented in the main by the hundreds of Leyland and West Derby. In this part of the county Mr. Taylor discovered no less than one hundred and fifty crosses, but the majority have unfortunately in the course of time perished through vandalism and neglect. The Lancashire folk of the thirteenth century were pious and religious, especially in the western part of the county, where the religious houses abounded. Lancaster, Cockersand, Lytham, Penwortham, and Burscough had each its monastery, and the people who dwelt around these holy homes were greatly influenced by the teaching of the monks, whereas the dwellers in the eastern half of the shire were not quite so inclined to religion, and crosses are fewer.

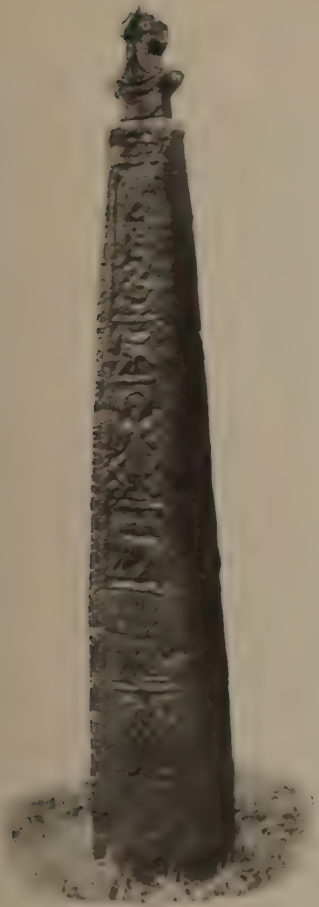
They served many purposes, and were of divers kinds. There were preaching crosses, on the steps of which the missionary or priest stood when he proclaimed the message of the Gospel ere churches were built for worship. Churchyard crosses were numerous, where sermons were delivered and to which processions were made on Palm Sundays. Roadside or weeping crosses were erected, so that "when folk passynge see the crosses, they sholde thynke of Hym that deyed on the crosse, and worshyppe Hym above all things."[1] These were resting-places for the bearers of the dead, where they tarried and chanted the *De profundis*, or said a prayer for the soul of the departed. You will find many an old Lancashire church surrounded by a group of crosses arranged in radiating lines along the converging

[1] *Dives et Pauper*, printed at Westminster in 1496.

roads, and at suitable intervals for rest. Aughton Church, Ormskirk Church, and Burscough Priory may be taken as examples of this.

Then there were market crosses, the scenes of many a quaint usage and ceremony, where proclamations were made, folk moots assembled, markets and fairs proclaimed, and punishments inflicted, for hard by were the stocks, pillory, and whipping-posts, stern reminders of the relentless justice of the age and place. Many of them have disappeared, but you will find a good example at Poulton-le-Fylde, with fish stones, rogues' whipping-post, and stocks; and also at Garstang, Garstang-Churchtown, Inglewhite Green, Hornby, Ulverston, Broughton-in-Furness, Dalton, and Cartmel. Lancashire folk are not such soft, pampered creatures as the southerners. In the south of England the market people used to protect themelves from the weather under lean-to roofs or elaborately carved shelters that were erected over the market cross; but the Lancastrians were a hardy race, and never covered themselves when marketing by a roof, but boldly faced the elements. Some of these market crosses date back to early times. Blackburn cross was erected by one of the De Lacy family in A.D. 1101, rebuilt in 1533 by Abbot Paslow, of Whalley, but, of course, it has had to make way for "modern improvements." Strange things happened at some of them. Thus at the Lancaster cross the Pretender was proclaimed King as James III. They have often looked down upon the cruel punishments of mediæval and later times, and watched the victims of the stocks and pillory, scourge and cart-wheel.

Crosses also marked the boundaries of abbey lands, such as the seven holy crosses of Oldham, which enclosed the land belonging to the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. Cross-roads had their crosses for pilgrims and as resting-places for funerals, and the sacred sign of Christianity was placed nigh holy wells, of which Lancashire has no lack. St. Oswald's, near Winwick; St. Thomas's, near



Cross in Whalley Churchyard.

Halton Cross.

Windleshaw; St. Patrick's, Heysham (see article on "Heysham"); St. John's, near Ribchester; St. Michael's, near Ribchester; St. Anne's, near Rainhill; St. Mary's, at Fernyhalgh; St. Helen's, at Brindle, are some of these sacred springs that wrought healing in former days, when faith in their virtues was more general than it is to-day. Across the wild moorland roads that lead from East Lancashire into Yorkshire several crosses were erected as guides to travellers, and malefactors could find "cities of refuge" at Manchester and Lancaster and claim sanctuary beneath the shadow of the cross.

Saxon Crosses

Lancashire possesses several notable examples of pre-Norman crosses, which remind us of the early missionaries who preached beneath their shade, and converted our pagan forefathers to Christianity. The most famous Saxon crosses in the county are those at Whalley. These are three in number, besides some fragments of other crosses that have been destroyed. They are usually said to have been erected by St. Paulinus in the seventh century, but experts are inclined to assign them to a date a century later. The first consists of a monolith standing seven feet six inches. Part of the shaft is missing, and on it stands a small mutilated cross. A semi-spherical boss is carved at the intersection of the arms. All four sides of the shaft are ornamented with sculpture. The east face is divided into six panels, the two lowest and the upper panel being filled with beautiful interlacing scroll-work. In the centre of this shaft is a nimbed figure with hands upraised in prayer and a serpent on each side, and above is a figure of a bird (a pelican or an eagle), and below a beast, possibly the *Agnus Dei.*

The second cross is decorated with varying patterns of foliated scroll-work of beautiful design. The Bishop of Bristol (Dr. Browne), who has made a careful study of all such early sculptured work, sees a resemblance between

this and the sculpture on the roof of the alcoves in the mausoleum of Galla Placidia at Ravenna, and suggests that the design was brought from Italy by St. Wilfrid. The carving of the third cross is much time-worn and almost obliterated. A delicate fragment of a cross forms part of the back of the sedilia; a piece of another is seen in the south wall of the chancel, and there are fragments lying on the ground which show a peculiar ornamentation of oval buckles with straps through them similar to some Cheshire examples. Whalley had also another cross on its bowling green, but it was pulled down by two miscreants in 1642, one of whom was killed by it.

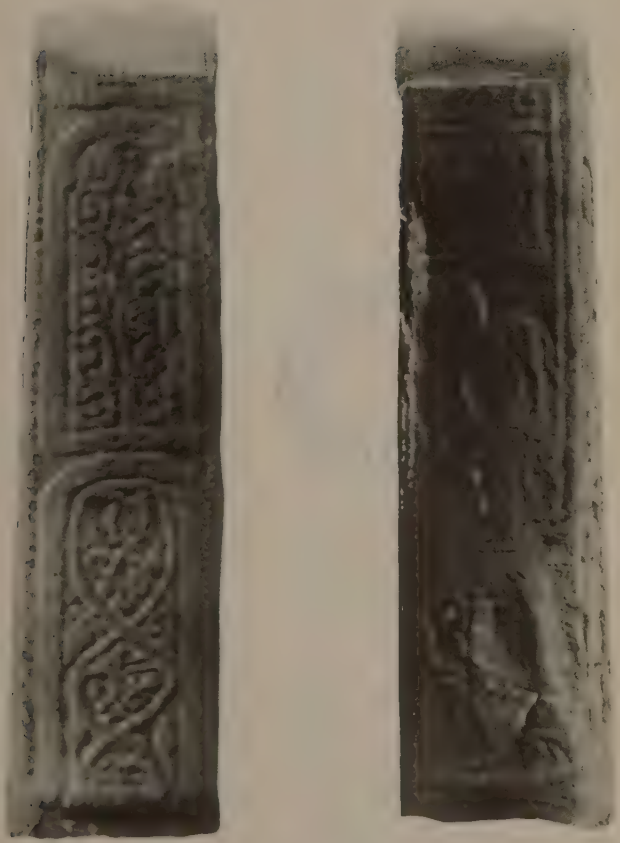
The Godley Lane cross at Burnley is of a type similar to those at Whalley. It bears the name of the cross of St. Paulinus, and has the same raised boss at the intersection of the arms of the cross. It has a tapering chamfered shaft, but lacks the sculptured work which adds so much interest to the Whalley examples.

Lancaster has some remarkable fragments of Anglo-Saxon crosses, preserved (save one which has found its way to the British Museum) in a room over the south porch of the church. This last-named specimen is covered with familiar interlacing scroll-work terminating in a dragon's head. It bears a runic inscription which signifies, "PRAY FOR CYNIBALTH CUTHBERT-SON." The date is probably the seventh century. Two fragments of another cross were discovered in 1903. All the sides are richly ornamented with scroll-work, and there is a portion of an inscription beginning:—

— ORATE [PRO] ANIMA HARD . . .

The character of the ornamentation seems to place it earlier than that which bears the runes. Another fragment is ornamented front and back and sides with conventional vine patterns, which Mr. Romilly Allen pronounces to be the finest Anglian. A very curious fragment shows a sculptured cross on the shaft with holy

Lancaster Cross.



Halton Cross.

doves descending on it from above, while below are two grotesque figures with human feet, long shapeless cloaks, and beasts' heads putting out their tongues, as if mocking the cross. They probably represent the powers of evil, and may be compared with the swines' heads under the feet of Christ in the well-known Bewcastle cross. Another fragment is of Scandinavian type, and shows figures of a stag and hound, representing the Christian pursued by the enemy of souls, and intertwining snakes, "the late heathen and early Christian symbol of death—the wattled serpents of the House of Hel in the Edda and the worm that dieth not."[1]

Another fragment is part of the head of a cross, on which is sculptured a draped figure of our Lord, the arms extending along the arms of the cross, and the head on the arm above. In the middle are five balls, representing the five wounds as drops of blood, enclosed within a ring. On one side are the pincers, one of the implements of the Passion. Another interesting fragment of Scandinavian work has some sculptured figures; on one side Adam and Eve on either side of the Tree of Knowledge, on the other a tree with two dragons twisted round it and a snake at the foot. There are traces of red colour upon the stonework, showing that the northern folk used to make their monuments gorgeous with pigments. The remaining fragments are not remarkable, but are evidently good Anglian work. Few places can produce so rich a store of pre-Norman sculptured crosses as Lancaster, and the antiquary must needs regret that only fragments now remain of these gems of early art.

We will now journey to the extreme north of the county and visit the wondrous churchyard of Heysham. There we find some remarkable fragments of crosses. The chief one was dug up some fifty years ago, a description of which will be found in the article on "Heysham."

[1] *Cf.* description of this stone in *The Reliquary* (October, 1903), by Mr. Collingwood.

Halton has a very interesting cross. Some iconoclasts destroyed part of it in order to make the base of a sundial; but it was carefully restored in 1890 by the late Rev. W. S. Calverley. It is especially interesting as showing the mingling of Pagan and Christian ideas, and the triumph of the latter over the Viking deities. We see emblems of the four Evangelists—St. Matthew with the face of a man, St. Mark and the lion, St. Luke with the head of a calf, and St. John with the eagle; and below are figures of saints. On the other sides are scenes from the Sigurd legend. Sigurd sits at the anvil with hammer and tongs and bellows, forging a sword. Above him is shown the magic blade completed, hammer, and tongs, while Fafni writhes in the knotted throes that everywhere signify his death. Sigurd is seen toasting Fafni's heart on a spit. He has placed the spit on a rest, and is turning it with one hand, while flames ascend from the faggots beneath. He has burnt his finger, and is putting it to his lips. Above are the interlacing boughs of a sacred tree, and sharp eyes may detect the talking pies that perch there, to which Sigurd is listening. On one side we see the noble horse Grani coming riderless home to tell the tale of Sigurd's death, and above is the pit, with its crawling snakes, that yawns for Gunnar and for all the wicked whose fate is to be turned into hell. On the south side are panels filled with a floriated design, representing the vine and twisted knot-work rope ornamentation. On the west is a tall Resurrection cross with figures on each side, and above a winged and seated figure with two others in a kneeling position. Possibly these represent the two Marys kneeling before the angel seated on the stone of the holy sepulchre on the morning of the Resurrection of our Lord. The cross probably belongs to the period of the later Viking age. In addition to this cross there are some interesting fragments preserved in the tower of Halton, which have some carved figure subjects difficult to decipher. "Restoration" and vandalism have doomed to destruction

Pre-Norman Cross at Eccles.

some beautiful monumental pre-Norman crosses in the churchyard of Bolton-le-Sands, and only some fragments remain. Hornby is especially rich in Saxon relics. In the churchyard there is the base of a lofty, tapering cross of Anglian work, each side ornamented by a rude semi-circular arch resting on narrow pilasters. A fragment of the priory cross is preserved in the church—the bottom arm of a small Greek cross, ornamented with zigzag work, with a fragmentary inscription. But the most important relic is the "Loaves and Fishes" cross, which after many vicissitudes has now been placed in Hornby church. It is one of the most beautiful fragments of Anglo-Saxon work that have come down to modern times. One panel shows a representation of the miracle of the loaves and fishes. At the foot are shown the two fishes and the five loaves carved in bold relief. A conventional tree springs from the central loaf, and on each side is a nimbused figure. The carving is still so sharp and crisp that it is difficult to realise that more than a thousand years have elapsed since the sculptor finished his task. Interlacing ornament covers the other sides of the cross, and on the reverse side at the top is the figure of an angel in an arched recess. A few letters of an inscription appear at the foot of the stone: "N.AIR."

The Winwick pre-Norman cross is famous, but only one block of stone remains of what must have been the finest and loftiest cross in the county. Every part of the stone is elaborately carved with figures, interlacing rope ornament, and a diaper key pattern. Huge misshapen animals with abnormal heads group themselves around a large central boss. On the north end is the figure of a man in a long robe carrying in his hand a bucket or handbell; below it is a sword or cross, and on the left is the figure of a church. This figure is in some way connected with St. Oswald, and possibly represents a man carrying water from that saint's well at Winwick. The other sculpture is supposed to be the dismemberment of

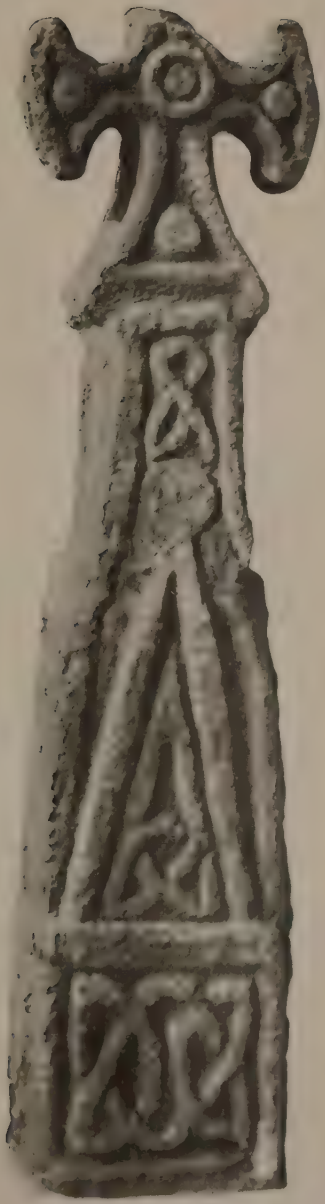
St. Oswald, who is shown, head downwards, suspended by a rope attached to his left foot. Mr. Romilly Allen supposed that the sculpture represents the martyrdom of Isaiah.

An interesting Anglian cross was found in the churchyard of Bolton-le-Moors parish church in 1866, and resembles somewhat the Whalley crosses, but is less delicately finished. The remains of other crosses have also been discovered and are stored in the tower. The cutting of the Manchester Ship Canal brought to light at Eccles a fragment of a cross, the face of which is covered with interlacing rope-work; and other carved fragments have been found at Melling and Gresingham. It is believed that there are no other pre-Norman crosses in the county. A very remarkable early sculptured stone of not later than the eighth century is stored in the cathedral library. The sculpture represents an angel holding a scroll, and is not unlike the angelic figures that appear in the Saxon church at Bradford-on-Avon. The inscription on the scroll is: "in manus Tuas Domine commendo (meum) spiritum."

Mediæval Crosses

Of mediæval crosses Lancashire possesses no lack, and many local names suggest the existence of crosses which have long since disappeared. The Foulridge cross, near Colne, is a venerable-looking monolith, almost six feet high, which has the appearance of a pre-Norman stone, but it is probably not earlier than the thirteenth century It has a circular head twenty-two and a half inches in diameter, with sunk panels on each face, forming what is often called a wheel-cross. Just below the wheel is a rude carving representing the pincers, one of the instruments of the Passion, but the rustics see in it a resemblance to a pair of shears, and persist in calling it "the Tailors' Cross." Leyland has a beautifully restored cross. It was a broken shaft until 1887, when the vicar,

PRESTON MARKET CROSS.



Bolton-le-Moors Cross.

the Rev. T. Rigbye Baldwin, and Miss ffarington restored it. It was probably broken in Puritan times, when there were some fierce iconoclasts in the Leyland district. Some hideous lamps once adorned its summit, and an old well and pump stood near it, instead of which a well-designed fountain has now been placed there. In the churchyard there are about twenty-five incised slabs, and in the district are numerous wayside crosses, which may have marked the boundaries of church lands. Leyland was the property of the abbey of Evesham, and was served by the monks of Penwortham until it became a perpetual vicarage in 1327.

Many crosses have been supplanted by obelisks, as at Preston, Inglewhite, Garstang, and other places. The old cross was pulled down by the Puritans, and subsequently, when party feeling ran high, and some good man wished to restore the broken cross, in order to please all parties, he substituted an obelisk for a cross. In the old-world village of Inglewhite, near Preston, once famous for its fairs, there stands a picturesque obelisk with the inscription "H.C.I.W. 1675." This was erected by Justice Warren, lord of the manor. It consists of a tapering square shaft, seven feet high, then becoming octagonal and then circular. It stands on the highest point of the village green.

We usually attribute the destruction of crosses to the Puritans of the Commonwealth period, but it is safe to say that more have been destroyed in later times than during that iconoclastic era. An arch-destroyer was a man named Wilkinson, Vicar of Chipping, a vehement Protestant, who, owing to his notoriety as a prophet, was allowed to do much as he liked with these ancient monuments. Many, indeed, it is said, were pulled down with his own hands. He used to foretell the deaths of various persons, and as, unfortunately, several of his prophecies came true, he was in this superstitious part of England dreaded as a wizard. Many other crosses have disappeared for utilitarian reasons, their position in the market-place being deemed to interfere

with the busy traffic of our great towns. It is a sad pity that they should have been allowed to disappear. They are holy relics of primitive Christianity; on the lonely mountain sides the tired traveller found in them a guide and friend, a director of his ways, and an uplifter of his soul. In the busy market-place they reminded the trader of the sacredness of bargains, of the necessity of honest dealings. They connected, by a close and visible bond, religious duties with daily life; and not only as objects of antiquarian interest, but as memorials of the religious feelings, habits, and customs of our forefathers, are they worthy of careful preservation.

THE CHETHAM HOSPITAL AND LIBRARY

By Albert Nicholson

CHARMING as this, almost the last survival of mediæval Manchester, is to us, as we come from the busy hum of the city and pass through the gate of the hospital it is necessary properly to appreciate the description of it by Leland, the antiquary, when he visited the town in 1538, as "the fair builded College," to picture to one's self these ancient walls divested of their modern surroundings, standing high on the red sandstone cliffs, at the base of which flowed the clear waters of the Irk and Irwell, which here have their meeting. Strange it seems to us now that both of these streams were then remarkable for the quantity and special excellence of the fish they contained. A history of our town, and in some measure of our country, would be involved in any attempt to give an account of the high plateau on which the college and church have stood for many centuries, but we may safely say, from discoveries made in recent years, that it was used as a pre-Roman or British stronghold.

Whitaker, in his *History of Manchester*, supposes that the Romans had a summer camp here. We now know, from finds in recent excavations, that the Romans did occupy this eminence, and the probability is, judging from other cases, it was a watch-camp. It was at a point a mile south of this, at the junction of the Medlock and Irwell, that the Romans had their large

and important station, which, during their long occupation of the country, became a populous town. It is the generally accepted idea that, after the departure of the Romans, the great advantage of the site at the junction of the Irk and Irwell, standing as it does upwards of forty feet above the ordinary level of the rivers, and defended on the north and west by these waters and on the south and east by a natural hollow in the land, which rendered defensive works easy, led eventually to the Saxon thanes establishing their castle here, and in the course of time the old Roman town was abandoned. At the Conquest, one of the followers of Roger de Poictou, named de Greslet or Grelley, came into possession of the lordship of Manchester, including these lands, from whom it descended to the De la Warres. That their hull, or baron's hall, stood on the same site as this college there is little or no doubt, but it is stated by Mr. Henry Taylor, in his valuable account of these buildings (*Old Halls in Lancashire and Cheshire*), that it "is a question which cannot be determined by architectural evidence, there being nothing visible either in the cellars or elsewhere which furnishes any indication either way." Robert de Greslet, the fifth baron, who lived about 1182-1230, is said to have been the first to keep his court here. Thomas, the eighth baron, granted the burgesses of Manchester their first charter, May 14th, 1301. In the days of these great Norman barons many a gallant cavalcade, and many a company of archers, did they lead forth from this old hall to serve against the Scots, or to preserve order on the Welsh marches, or, summoned to his aid in the great wars in France, they were with their king at Cressy, Poitiers, and Agincourt. The last in descent of these Norman lords of Manchester, Thomas de la Warre, was rector of the church as well as lord of the manor. He obtained the necessary sanction, and in the year 1421 the church was collegiated, the priest baron, as he is often styled, giving up to the

new foundation his hull, or hall, and various other lands, and a considerable sum of money, for the support of the new foundation, consisting of one warden or master, eight fellows, four clerks, and six choristers; and dedicated the church in honour of St. Mary, St. Denis, and St. George. The present building, or rather its earliest parts, were erected about 1425, by Thomas de la Warre, in furtherance of his scheme. There seems slight evidence in some of the roof timbers used in parts of the present buildings that they may have formed a part of an older fabric, but of this we can speak with no certainty.

The college in the time of Henry VIII. escaped the fate of so many religious foundations, but in the first year of the reign of Edward VI. (1557) it was dissolved, and the college, house, and some of the lands passed into the possession of Edward Stanley, third Earl of Derby, whose family seem to have used the college as well as their house in the south of the town, Alport Lodge, as a residence. The Stanleys retained possession of the college house and some of the lands when Queen Mary, soon after her accession, refounded the college, but on an effort being made by the local gentry to obtain a charter of refoundation from Queen Elizabeth, it was heartily supported by the then owner, Henry, the sixth earl, and this house again became the residence of warden and fellows, under some arrangement with the earl. It was within a bow-shot of these walls, on Salford Bridge, that the first engagement took place in that terrible struggle between the King and Parliament, when Lord Strange, in command of a Royalist force, sought to seize the town, but was successfully repulsed by the townspeople, commanded by Colonel Rosworm. At the very time when he was making this unsuccessful effort to capture Manchester, Lord Strange became seventh Earl of Derby, and succeeded to the ownership of the college, which had, on his marriage with Charlotte de la Tremouille, daughter of the first Prince of Orange, been

made part of her jointure. This brave soldier and his gallant wife, the defender of Lathom House, whatever may be the opinion of the cause they espoused, will ever claim our regard and sympathy on account of their unswerving loyalty and their many troubles. When after the battle of Worcester the earl was captured and executed at Bolton, his property, including the college buildings, was confiscated. The fabric seems during the long period of the Civil War to have fallen into a sad state of decay. It had been sublet to a gentleman named Warden for £10 a year. He sublet the refectory to the Presbyterians for their monthly meetings, and a large barn in the yard was used for the meetings of the Independent Church.

Humphrey Chetham, a Manchester merchant, had for many years before his death, which took place in 1653, educated and maintained a number of poor boys, and had negotiated for the purchase of the college buildings, but unsuccessfully, with the intention of making a home for them within its walls.

By his will he left an endowment of £7,000 for a hospital, in which were to be educated forty boys, who were to be selected from the poor of certain places.

Mr. Chetham also bequeathed the sum of £1,000 for the purchase of books, and £100 for a suitable building to receive them, towards the formation of a public library; for the augmentation of which he devised the residue of his personal estates, after the payment of certain legacies, and this is said to have amounted to more than £2,000. He further bequeathed the sum of £200 to purchase godly English books, to be chained upon desks in the churches of Manchester and Bolton, and in the chapels of Turton, Walmersley, and Gorton. Chetham's executors reopened the negotiations with the Committee of Sequestrators, and eventually the college was sold to the feoffees about the month of November,

1654, and after many necessary repairs and alterations were effected, the boys entered their new residence August 24th, 1656. On the restoration of the Stuarts the property reverted to the widowed Countess of Derby, and a fresh conveyance became necessary.

To the feoffees, twenty-four in number, who manage this trust, a charter was granted by Charles II., dated November 20th, 1665, and so excellent has been the management of the property that the number of boys boarded and educated in the hospital has gradually increased to one hundred. The feoffees have unfortunately been obliged recently to reduce the number to eighty, owing to loss of revenue; but efforts are being made by friends of the hospital to reinstate the income. The boys receive an education in every way suited to ensure success in life, and in equipment and results the school may challenge comparison with any similar foundation in the kingdom. A few years ago a large schoolroom was built in the yard to accommodate the increased numbers by the feoffees, who have also provided a manual training shop for the use and instruction of the boys, which was furnished throughout by the liberality of Sir William Mather, and an excellent swimming bath was constructed at the sole charge of Mr. Richard H. Joynson, one of the feoffees.

For some years this trust has, like so many others in the country depending for their support on the rental of farm lands, suffered a great diminution in its income, and how it comes to pass that under such unfortunate circumstances these interesting old buildings are in such perfect order may best be explained by transcribing two tablets which you will find on the wall at the entrance to the library:—

> Pass not without bestowing a thought of kindly remembrance upon Oliver Heywood who of his goodwill did restore the Dining Hall, Reading Room, Library, Kitchen, Dormatories, and Cloisters between the years 1883-90.

This tablet records the munificence of Charles James Heywood of Chaseley, a governor of this Hospital who at his own charges completed the work contemplated by Oliver his brother, restoring the Ingle Nook, Stairs, House, Governor's Room, and other portions of the Hospital during the years 1893-5.

From the first start the library seems to have gone on amassing books, and been fortunate enough to have connected with it some, at least, who have greatly helped in their selection. The funds at the disposal of the feoffees for the increase of the library had, a few years ago, a very welcome addition from a sum of money left by the late Robert Holt, an eccentric dealer in books, from whose stall in Shudehill Market many of us have bought rare volumes. He, by his will, dated October 27th, 1881, left his property to form a fund to be "applied in the purchase of books for the use of Chetham's Library," subject to certain conditions with regard to their being catalogued in a particular way, and that each volume should contain a book-plate stating that it was purchased out of the "Robert Holt Fund." Both the library and the hospital also benefited considerably under the will of the late Miss Anna Jemima Naylor, of The Knoll, Dunham Massey. The particulars of this bequest I am, by the courtesy of Mr. R. D. Darbishire, able to give here. The testatrix died November 24th, 1894, and amongst many other legacies to Manchester charities, she bequeathed, free of duty, to the governors of Chetham's Hospital and Library, Manchester, £500 to be applied by them for the purchase of books for the said library. The testatrix further bequeathed the residue of all her estate to the Owens College, Manchester, to be placed at interest, and the annual proceeds thereof to be applied, after paying certain annuities specified in the will and a codicil thereto,

in paying the expenses at the Manchester Grammar School until they are of age to enter the Owens College, and after such then at the same College of one or more boys selected by the same College after examination

from amongst boys educated at the Chetham's Hospital aforesaid, or if in any year no candidate should come forward from that Hospital, then from amongst boys educated at any Board School in Manchester, for the purpose of continuing their education in the same Grammar School and College for such time or times as the Council of the said Owens College shall appoint, not being less than two years at College (except in cases of bad conduct);

This fund to be called the Dennison Naylor Fund or Scholarship, in loving memory of the testatrix's late dear brother, Benjamin Dennison Naylor, for eighteen years a governor of the said hospital in right of descent from Ralph Chetham, brother of Humphrey Chetham, the founder.

It is understood that the Owens College received under the above-mentioned bequest a sum of £6,746 19s. 8d.

The library, which now contains about 53,000 volumes, has received many additions from time to time by presentation or bequest as well as by purchase. The library of Dr. John Byrom came to it from the late Miss Atherton, and amongst the more notable of the MSS. may be mentioned the Raines MSS., forty-four volumes, relating chiefly to the city and the surrounding district; the Piccope MSS., twenty-one volumes (Lancashire); and the collection of genealogies of Lancashire families, etc., made by Thomas Barritt, the Manchester antiquary. There are also considerable collections of MSS. relating to Lancashire, Cheshire, and the town of Manchester. The most valuable manuscript is, however, that of Matthew Paris (*Matthæi Parisiensis Chronica*), a portion of which, according to Sir F. Madden, is in the author's autograph. There are also many choice Missals and Books of Hours. Mention should be made of a manuscript of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, which is specially interesting as having belonged to one of the Chetham family of Nuthurst, probably Thomas Chetham, who died in 1504. There are also a considerable number that were formerly in the Towneley collection. The general library is rich in classics, histories, and the fathers

and councillors of the Church, and there is a collection of printed ballads, broadsides, and tracts from the time of James I., which contains much that is interesting, but, like many other collections in the library, stands greatly in need of careful cataloguing.

Amongst the many remarkable men who were associated with this building during the time it was occupied as a college, one, perhaps, above all others, the great mathematician and astronomer, Dr. John Dee, is worthy of special notice, not only on account of his ability and learning, but from the fact that he it was who brought to this very building, when he came here as warden of the college in 1596, a library of some 4,000 books, a quarter of which were said to be MSS.—at least such was the estimate of the number of his treasures when he was resident at his house at Mortlake; and though shortly before his removal to Manchester, in his absence from home, some people, excited against him on account of his supposed dealings with Satan, had broken in and done great damage to his books, he is said to have recovered most of the volumes. From the notes in his diary it is evident that he was in the constant habit of lending many of these valuable works to the friends he soon gathered round him in these rooms in the college.

Some, no doubt, were attracted, like the great Queen Elizabeth herself, who visited the seer at his house at Mortlake, by a half-concealed belief in the influences of the black arts, and it will scarcely seem strange to those who know how strong, even in the present time, such sympathies are, that a man, who in a life of wonderful romance had many times, owing to his reputation as a wizard, suffered wreck of fortune and come near to losing his life, should at his little gatherings in these quaint old rooms have counted amongst his visitors many a gallant squire and noble lady. One June day it is recorded in his diary that

the Erle of Derby with the Lady Gerard, Sir Richard Molynox and his Lady daughter, to the Lady Gerard, Master Hawghton and others, cam suddenly uppon [me] after three of the clok. I made them a skoler's collation, and it was taken in good part.

And though it it is not recorded that the object of their visit was that he should cast their "Natyvytees," or look on their behalf into the magic crystal, well may we imagine that curiosity, if not considerable faith in his power of reading the future, brought his illustrious callers here.

Aubrey says of him that

he had a very fair, clear sanguine complexion, a long beard as white as milk—a very handsome man. He was tall and slender—wore a gowne like an artist's gowne with hanging sleeves, and a slitt. . . . A mighty good man he was. . . . He kept a great many stills going, and the children dreaded him because he was counted a conjurer.

Poor man, this fear of him seems to have been shared by many of their elders, and probably led, though he had the reputation of being "a great peacemaker," to the long succession of troubles he had in Manchester, which ended in the venerable warden returning to his old residence at Mortlake to die, sad to say, in very straitened circumstances. We can scarcely claim for him that the time and fortune spent by him during a long life in his search for the philosopher's stone and other experiments, did anything to help forward chemical discovery, but we must not lightly estimate the talents and life-work of a man who the antiquary Camden styled *nobilis mathematicus*, referring to his preface to Billingsley's English translation of *Euclid* (1570), and who, lecturing to vast audiences in Louvain and Paris, and afterwards in England, on Euclid, has been truly said to have brought about a real advance in science in this country, "and cleared the way for the advent of the Baconian philosophy." May we not add in some slight measure, at least, to the great work accomplished by those of this city of Manchester, whose names stand high in

the list of scientific discovery, John Dalton, Eaton Hodgkinson, and J. P. Joule? It is interesting to note that the library contains a manuscript, *Mysteriorum Liber*, by Dee. He was a most prolific writer; no fewer than ninety-nine works by him, most of which were never printed, being enumerated in the *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*.

For one great effort of his life, though an unsuccessful one, all lovers of books must ever remember Dee with kindly regard, for on January 15th, 1555-6,

he presented to the Queen Mary a supplication for the recovery and preservation of ancient writers and monuments. In this remarkable document he dwelt upon the distribution of old MSS. at the dissolution of the Monastic establishments, and prayed the Queen to take the opportunity of forming, at a trifling cost, a magnificent Royal Library.

The portrait of the founder will be found on the wall of the reading-room, formerly the drawing-room of the ancient mansion, and with it others whose lives have been associated with this town and neighbourhood, and many of them with this building. John Bradford, who was born in Manchester, 1501, educated at Manchester Grammar School, Fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and Chaplain to Edward VI., and was burnt at Smithfield, 1555, is represented here, not only by a portrait, but by an interesting manuscript of Prayers and Meditations, which is in his autograph. We have here several MSS. and a portrait of Dr. Thomas Deacon, called the Non-juring Bishop, a learned theologian, who ministered to a small society in this town, and exercised a great influence amongst the Jacobites of this district on account not only of his ability, but his high character. He had, as early as the Rebellion of 1715, aided the cause of the exiled family with his pen, and from that time had been an active supporter of the Jacobite party. Three of his sons joined Prince Charles Edward when he came here. As officers of the Manchester regiment they were taken prisoners at Carlisle; two of them were condemned to death, though one, on account of his

youth, was reprieved and transported, and the third died in prison. There are also portraits of Thyer, the editor of *Butler's Remains*, who was librarian here, and whose commonplace book is amongst the MSS.; Alex. Nowell, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's and founder of Middleton School; William Whitaker, D.D., nephew of Dr. Nowell, Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, and successively Chancellor of St. Paul's and Master of St. John's College, Cambridge; Robert Bolton, a learned divine and the first Grecian scholar of his day; and Thomas Jones, librarian here for many years. Mr. Jones, who was a scholar of Jesus College, Oxford, where he graduated B.A., was a librarian, as Mr. Crossley said, "whose whole soul was in his work," and to him, in large measure, thanks are due for the present extent and value of the collection of books.

There is also a fine portrait of W. H. Ainsworth belonging to the hospital, but now lent to the Corporation, and hanging in the Reference Library.

These rooms will ever be associated in the minds of Manchester men with the names of Dr. John Byrom, the Gresswells, and many of those who have been previously alluded to; but we must mention one whose well-remembered figure is here portrayed for us—that of James Crossley—which is inseparably connected with one's thoughts with this institution. He was a man of massive frame, of courtly speech and manner, and an excellent scholar. As year after year his fellow-citizens saw this old-world gentleman pass with measured step and dignified carriage along the streets from one book-shop to another, or to this hospital, they began to regard him as Londoners did the stately Johnson. He, too, was a good friend to the library. Some remarks he made on the occasion of the presentation of this portrait, when he mentioned the names of Sir Walter Raleigh and other great Elizabethans, have no doubt given rise to the tradition, for which we know no other foundation, that

Raleigh came here to visit the learned Dr. Dee. We may be quite certain, however, that, had Mr. Crossley intended to state a fact of such interest, he would have done it in a very different way.

Already in the founder's time Puritanism was getting a firm hold on Manchester and the district round about. There was a growing desire for knowledge, which led to many teaching institutions being carried on from time to time in this part of the country. It is impossible to over-estimate the influence that this great free library has had in moulding the thought and life of the generations that have come and gone since then, and helping forward the education of those who were unable on account of their religious opinions to take advantage of the universities, and so gain access to these necessary aids to learning. And amongst all classes it has fostered a love of books and scholarship.

In conclusion, let us hope that trusts so beneficial in their object, and so excellently administered as these foundations of Humphrey Chetham, may long continue in growing usefulness and vigour.

FURNESS ABBEY

By J. E. Holden

THE abbey of St. Mary-in-Furness may lay serious claim to be one of the most famous English abbeys. Its fame is not wholly due to itself. No doubt the abbey is an ancient, extensive and picturesque ruin, and an important historical monument as well. But the district in which it lies has sufficient natural beauties of its own to attract in large numbers tourists and holiday-makers who are neither devoted historians nor antiquaries.

Few even of the conducted tourists omit to pay at least one brief visit to the ruin. Besides, an important line of railway passes through, and a railway station lies actually within, the abbey grounds. Many, therefore, who never leave the train either learn or are reminded of its existence by a passing glance through the window of the carriage. A passing glance, however, under favourable conditions, has been known to make a very lasting impression. So its fame is spread.

The history of the abbey is typical of the general history of English monastic institutions. In lowly life, with lofty ideals, the seeds of its prosperity were sown. But "prosperity doth best discover vice," and temporal pomp and power without evident spiritual ideals ended in disaster. Though political persecution was the immediate cause of its extinction, there is no doubt that internal decay was present as a contributing factor.

In a valley once called Beckansgill, but more recently the "Valley of the Deadly Nightshade," the foundations of the abbey began to be laid in 1127. Stephen, Count of Boulogne (King of England, 1138-54), gave his forest of Furness for the purpose. The reason for the gift was one which has frequently prompted gifts to ecclesiastical institutions, viz., "seeking the help of God and providing for the safety of my own soul and that of my wife, the Countess Matilda, and for the soul of my lord and uncle, Henry, King of England, and for the souls of all the faithful."

Some of the phrases in the deed are almost poetical. "Perceiving every day that the span of life hastens to its close, and that all the pomps of this passing world, the flowers and the roses, the crowns and the palms of flourishing kings, emperors, and dukes, and of all rich men, wither away," for instance, smacks little of a dry and dusty parchment.

The land comprised the forest of Furness, Walney, with Dalton and lordship in Furness, Ulverston and a fishery at Lancaster. The rights of ownership, etc., were also given "with soc and sac, tol' and team, and infangenetheof" (*i.e.*, the right of administering justice, of imposing fines on vassals within the lordship, of levying tolls, of exercising sovereign power over villein tenants, and of judging theft).

The land of one Michael le Fleming was especially excepted. The deed concludes with "which donation I give as an offering to God for a sweet smelling savour or as at least an evening sacrifice which we offer to God."

By this deed of gift Stephen gave the land "unto God and to Saint Mary of Furness and to the Abbot of that place."

By another deed of the same date he also made the same gift "unto God, and to the Holy Trinity of Savigny, and to the Abbot of Savigny."

He thus created two claimants for the same princely property. This is not remarkable, for Savigny was the mother abbey of Furness, and gave liberally of her wealth during the early period of the establishment.

The first leader of the monks was Evan d'Avranches, who, with thirteen others, left Savigny in 1124, and settled in Tulketh, on the Ribble, near Preston. Stephen befriended the monks here. The migration to Furness took place at the end of three years' residence at Tulketh.

The erection of the permanent buildings would, of course, occupy a long time, and would cost a large sum. The abbot of Savigny in 1148 declared that the abbey was built at the expense and cost of the monastery of Savigny.

The site of this abbey, like that of many other monastic institutions, is wonderfully suitable; shelter, water, fertile soil, mineral wealth, and natural beauty even now demonstrate this.

The foundations laid in 1127 in plan closely followed those of the mother abbey. The plan of the church is almost identical with that of Vaux de Cernay in France, which was probably copied from Savigny.

In 1148, however, an important event occurred. The abbot of Savigny surrendered his abbey to the Cistercian Order, and exhorted all other Savignian abbeys to follow his example. This change was a far-reaching one, and at Furness was apparently neither easily nor peacefully effected.

The Furness Coucher Book, whose compilation in 1412 was due to Abbot William Dalton, gives the following account of the transfer:—

> In the time of this Abbot (Peter of York) the venerable Serlo, fourth Abbot of Savigny, which is the mother house of Furness, in a general chapter at Citreaux rendered his house of Savigny, with its daughters of the Order of Tiron, to the Cistercian Order into the hands of St. Bernard, then Abbot of Clairvaux. Against which rendering the aforesaid Abbot Peter, with his Convent, appealed to the Pope and the Holy Apostolic

See. To which See coming in person he obtained from the Lord the Pope Eugenius III. a confirmation that his monastery of Furness should for ever remain of the same Order of which it had first been founded, notwithstanding the rendering aforesaid. But on his return from the Roman Court he was seized on the way by the monks of Savigny and taken to Savigny. There he resigned his office as Abbot and became a most worthy monk in the same place, learning the Cistercian Order, and thence he was chosen Abbot of Quarr. To which Peter there succeeded at Furness as fifth Abbot Richard of Bayeux, doctor in theology, a pious monk of Savigny, who ruled for a short time; by whose diligence and counsel the monastery of Furness itself was rendered to the mother house of Savigny and to the Cistercian Order before the same Richard was elected to the Abbacy.

The "Archives Nationales," in the old Palais de Soubise, Paris, contain three parchments which refer to the dispute, and cast much doubt on the accuracy and completeness of the Coucher Book statement. One serious omission is that no mention is made of the fact that the power of discipline possessed by Savigny over Furness depended upon the ownership of the property, which (as before stated) could be claimed by the abbot of each place. The parchments tend to prove that the following is the true story of the change. Abbot Peter of Furness failed after warnings to appear before the Archbishop of Rouen and the Bishop of Lisieux, who had been appointed commissioners in the dispute by the Pope. In his absence the abbey of Furness was invested in the abbot of Savigny. After several days Peter came and asked that the judgment should be set aside, but the Pope ordered him to conform to what had been done, and he did so.

The Coucher Book makes no mention of the doubtful ownership of the property, and its statement that the Pope supported Peter is contradicted. The documents further show that Peter was not seized by the monks of Savigny, and that it was not the influence of Richard of Bayeaux but the mandate of the Pope that caused the monks at Furness to submit.

Whatever may be the historical facts, the result is unquestionable, viz., that Furness Abbey became an abbey of the Cistercian Order, and the grey dress of the monks was exchanged for white, with dark brown or black scapular.

The buildings of the abbey were incomplete, and as all Cistercian abbeys were required to be of one uniform plan, considerable modifications of the original plan would be made.

Some parts (*e.g.*, the presbytery) which had been erected were even pulled down and rebuilt. Most of the other buildings, however, had not been completed, and there is no doubt that the beautiful example of mediæval architecture which they proceeded to erect would furnish another proof, if one were necessary, of the great skill of the Cistercian monks as architects and builders.

In another sense also was the change advantageous; the Cistercians were devoted to agriculture, and the land in the Valley of the Deadly Nightshade soon benefited by their labours in draining and cultivating it.

By large and small gifts, providing generally, as Stephen did, "for the safety of my own soul, etc.," the wealth of the abbey increased, until its holdings included land in Lancashire, Cumberland, Yorkshire, and other counties, as well as in Ireland.

The ownership of wide estates, together with a not too scrupulous desire for more, soon involved the monks in many quarrels.

They encroached upon the rights of Michael le Fleming, mentioned by Stephen in the deed of gift, and ultimately, by petition and payment to King Henry III., obtained the right to require homage and service from him. His son, William, continued the struggle against them. Afterwards, another Michael being drowned, and the heir to the Fleming estates being a minor, they took possession as overlords. On attaining manhood this heir ended the quarrel by accepting the estate as a vassal of the abbot.

They quarrelled with William Taillbois, Baron of Kendal, over a boundary and fisheries. They unsuccessfully claimed rights over Kirkby Ireleth, but got a peaceful settlement of a claim upon the manor of Pennington. They accumulated wealth from lands, gifts, rights under the feudal system of land tenure, and mines in Low Furness. They even appropriated Church livings.

They not only quarrelled with laymen; they disputed about their rights and their revenues with the vicars of Dalton and Urswick, as well as with the canons of Conishead Priory. At this time (A.D. 1200-1300) the abbey would probably be one of the wealthiest ecclesiastical corporations in the country.

It would serve, as other abbeys did, many good purposes—*e.g.*, asylums for the weak, hostels to travellers, sources of charity, etc. There is no doubt that the tenants were kindly treated and the monks well liked. Generally the Cistercian monks were not celebrated as teachers, but education would not be entirely neglected.

The history of the abbey at the height of its prosperity is apparently nowhere told at length, so it is generally thought to have been uneventful.

About the beginning of the fifteenth century the abbot secured exemption from personal attendance at courts on the ground that travelling was difficult.

In 1418, while the abbot was engaged in an enquiry into discipline in other Cistercian abbeys in England, his own monks were charged by the merchants of Calais with defrauding the revenue by smuggling wool into Holland and Flanders, and the abbot himself, the owner of the ship, is declared to have connived at the offence.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the abbot, though still attempting to extend his power by claiming extension of his rights, found that it was necessary also to defend his position against strong attack.

In 1509 he complained that tenants were enclosing land, and only obtained a nominal judgment in his favour.

FURNESS ABBEY: NORTH DOORWAY.

J. Le Keux, Sculp.

In 1525 the abbot was compelled to withdraw one scale of fines and dues to be paid by tenants, and to be content with a lower scale.

In 1531 the abbot was charged with taking unauthorised dues and with having levied an illegal tax, but seems to have successfully defended himself. Afterwards the same abbot was charged with being an accessory to the crime of murder by Roland Tayllour, but the judgment on this charge is not known.

One of the monks, Hugh Brown, seems to have been guilty of dishonesty in connection with an improper use of the seal of the abbey and leases of land, and a long lawsuit followed.

The monks tried to buy powerful support by giving annuities to influential personages, but they could not save themselves.

Roger Pyle, elected in 1532, was the last abbot, but he no longer possessed the absolute lordship of a wide domain. He had to report to the King, and is found complaining that his monks were refractory.

In 1534 the suppression of the monasteries was practically certain, though a general inquiry was not instituted till 1535. So hurriedly was it performed that it apparently was considered to be complete in 1536.

The report upon Furness by Drs. Leyton and Legh charges the abbot and three monks with immorality, but as the Act of Parliament only ordered the suppression of the smaller monasteries, Furness escaped.

Immediately afterwards, in 1537, the Earl of Sussex led a new commission of inquiry to ascertain whether the monks had been concerned with the Pilgrimage of Grace. Two monks were imprisoned at Lancaster on suspicion only, but the abbot, by some means or other, was prevailed upon to transfer his monastery to the King.

Four days later the abbot and twenty-four monks met the commissioners in the chapter-house. The monks

signed the deed of gift to the King under a promise that a better living should be provided for them.

The abbey thus ceased to exist on April 9th, 1537, after an existence of four hundred and ten years.

The promise made to the monks was broken, as they each received only forty shillings to carry them "to such places as they desired to go to."

When the monks had departed the buildings were handed over to the spoilers, who in a short time reduced them almost to the ruined condition in which they now are.

In 1540 the land and revenues were added to the Duchy of Lancaster. The site passed to the Prestons, then through the Lowthers to the Cavendishes, in whose possession it still remains.

> . . . The earth where Abbeys stood
> Is layman's land, the glebe, the stream, the wood.
> His oxen low where monks retired to eat;
> His cows repose upon the prior's seat.
> And wanton doves within the cloisters bill
> Where the chaste votary warred with wanton will.
>
> *Crabbe.*

Authorities used: Mr. St. John Hope, Canon Eyre, and Mr. R. O'Neill Pearson.

THE ANCIENT BAPTISMAL FONTS OF THE HUNDREDS OF LEYLAND AND WEST DERBY

By John W. Ellis, M.B., F.E.S.

IN an article on ancient baptismal fonts contributed to *Country Life* of July 23rd, 1904, I remarked the frequency with which an old font is the sole remaining structural evidence of an earlier church having occupied the site of the one wherein the font is now located, all details of the older edifice having been obliterated during subsequent reconstruction. Since that article was written this observation has been particularly verified during my survey of the churches of the Hundreds of Leyland and West Derby, in South-West Lancashire. In this area there are no fewer than eight fonts which date from Saxon or Norman times standing in or connected with churches that are either quite modern or where there are not any structural or ornamental details antecedent to the fifteenth century.

Many districts in England are characterised by the frequency in their churches of fonts of a particular or specialized type; such, for instance, as the remarkably beautiful Decorated and Perpendicular fonts of South Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk, and the more or less grotesque fonts, chiefly dating from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, met with in the Cornish churches.

Lancashire may, however, be looked upon as a county devoid of either special or good types of fonts, a condition probably, in part, due to the fact that the local stone (sandstone or millstone grit) is of too coarse a nature to lend itself to the representation of fine sculptural detail.

Several of the really old fonts that have been spared to us make up for this deficiency of detail by great boldness of execution, and it is quite likely that other equally interesting specimens of early work have disappeared from our Lancashire churches since the Reformation. For about that period the practice of complete immersion of the infant during the rite of baptism gave place to aspersion, or sprinkling, when only a small receptacle for water was necessary, and the taste of the time led to the replacement of the massive and capacious mediæval fonts by small bowls of more or less classical design. Then the old font, that had done duty perhaps for three hundred years, was broken up, or buried, or placed to some secular use, either as a receptacle for rain water or as a flower pot in the churchyard or in a private garden.

More reverent feelings of recent times have led to the recovery of many of these discarded fonts; they have been restored, in some cases to their original use, in others to a situation within the church where they are protected from further injury. It is earnestly hoped that the few old fonts that still remain outside and uncared for may receive the attention that their age and the sentiment that should attach to such objects entitles them to.

In considering in some detail the ancient fonts of any particular district it would be, perhaps, more instructive to group them in chronological order, but in so many instances the characters of our Lancashire fonts are so vague that an accurate determination of their age is scarcely possible. It has, therefore, been thought best to arrange them in alphabetical sequence.

HUNDRED OF LEYLAND

Brindle (fig. 1)

Three of the five fonts possessed by the church at Brindle may be included in our series of ancient fonts of the Hundred. Standing at the west end of the nave, below the tower arch, is a nearly cylindrical font of gritstone,

completely devoid of ornament and badly injured about the rim. The sexton tells me that this font was found buried in the churchyard. Its height (17½ inches) and its diameter (23½ inches) are about the usual measurements of cylindrical fonts of the Norman period, to which this specimen may, with little doubt, be referred. The support on which it now stands has no original connection with the bowl.

A second font, of strange design, is preserved in Brindle church. It is small in comparison with most mediæval fonts, square, each face measuring about seventeen inches, with the vertical edges broadly chamfered. The faces are panelled by means of a cable-pattern border above and at the sides, and with a scalloped border below, and two of the faces only have ornament within the panel. These are (1) a well-cut monogram in Gothic letters, difficult to decipher, but probably "I.H.S.," and (2) a double cinque-foil. The chamfer bears sculptured upon it two four-rayed stars within a plain border. The stem, which is surrounded by a central collar of cable and roll moulding, gradually widens downwards to the square base, from which it is separated by scalloped edges. The design of this font is good, but the coarse gritstone does not do justice to the nature of the ornament. It probably dates from the seventeenth century.

The third ancient font at Brindle is a small seven-sided bowl that now stands on the lawn in the rectory garden, but which was brought hither from the ruined chapel at St. Helen's well in the same parish. It is of gritstone, of very uneven workmanship, and without ornament, and it does not possess any characteristic from which its age can be inferred.

Chorley

My knowledge of the two ancient fonts of Chorley parish is derived from information communicated to me by the rector, the Venerable Archdeacon Fletcher.

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One of these, he tells me, is preserved at Shaw Hall, a private residence about two miles from Chorley, whither it was taken when a new font was erected in Chorley church in 1864. He describes it as a square font with a circular basin of about the usual capacity, and ornamented externally *with rude carving of a zigzag character.* It stands on a square shaft and a pyramidal base, which latter has some floral decoration. Zigzag ornament is so characteristic of the Norman period of architecture, and of that alone, that one is tempted to speculate whether this can be the original Norman font of Chorley church, but I have not been able to obtain permission to examine this relic, which, whatever be its age, ought to be returned to and preserved in the church.

In the garden at Chorley rectory, Archdeacon Fletcher informs me, is a plain circular bowl eighteen inches high by twenty-four inches in diameter, that stands on two cylindrical stones that form a shaft, but the base is missing. It would be difficult to ascribe a date to this font.

Croston (fig. 2)

The font in use in Croston church has a large hexagonal bowl with panelled faces, on one of which is sculptured the date 1663. The others are carved with geometrical designs of anything but graceful character. The bowl is supported in a pillar of six clustered shafts, without capitals or bases, and the diameter of this pillar is so little less than that of the bowl that the whole structure looks particularly clumsy.

Eccleston (fig. 3)

In the south-west corner of Eccleston church stands a font of fine-grained sandstone with an octagonal bowl of more than usual size, for the distance across measures 34½ inches, the height being 16 inches. Each face of this bowl has deeply sunk panels with well-carved interlacing circles surrounding a shield of late design, on seven of

which are represented the various emblems of the Passion —the crown of thorns, the hammer and pincers, three nails, etc.; while the eighth shield bears the "three legs of Man," an emblem which possibly commemorates the rectorship of Richard Parr, D.D. (1628-1643), who in 1635 was appointed, by the Earl of Derby, Bishop of the Isle of Man, a post which he filled without resigning his rectorship of Eccleston. The rim of the bowl still retains the two hasps for the attachment of the cross-bar by which the cover was originally fastened (see footnote, p. 152). The bowl is supported on a central column with engaged shafts with slightly moulded capitals and bases. The general style of this font, particularly the presence of the emblems of the Passion, is that of the Perpendicular period, but the presence of the "legs of Man," under the circumstances mentioned above, probably refers it to the seventeenth century.

At the foot of the chancel steps in Eccleston church there lies a fragment of sculptured stonework that has certainly belonged to a much older building than the present one, but whether it is properly described as a font is doubtful. It may be the lower part of a tub font with the sides broken away nearly to the level of the floor of the basin, but it has more the appearance of a capital than of a font. It is surrouded by a single cable moulding, and measures 22 inches in diameter by 12 inches in height. It is doubtless properly referred to the twelfth century.

Euxton

The font in Euxton church has been described as of early date.[1] This may be the case, but there is no character about the plain, recut circular bowl supported on a modern shaft of classical design that could possibly help one to decide whether the bowl *is* an ancient (possibly Norman) one, or whether the whole font is of comparatively recent date.

[1] Baines, *History of Lancashire.*

Hoole (fig. 4)

Jeremiah Horrox, the young astronomer who was the first to observe the Transit of Venus, was curate of Hoole at the time of his discovery, and the quaint parish church has been little altered since his time. It contains a richly carved Jacobean pulpit and reading-desk and a massive font of light-coloured sandstone that stands among the ancient black oak benches. The bowl of the font is octagonal, of more than usual height (21 inches), with the lower angles chamfered. One face bears the inscription in rudely cut capitals, DEO DONVM IOHAN STONES AN DOM 1633. The remaining faces are plain. The bowl is supported on a plain shaft with chamfered edges and a square base. John Stones, the donor of the font, was the patron of the living, and resided at Carr House, about a mile distant, and it was from this house, which appears to have undergone little change during the interval, that Jeremiah Horrox observed his predicted Transit of Venus on December 4th, 1639.

Penwortham

Standing at the west end of the nave of Penwortham church is a strange-looking font that was discovered a few years ago in the garden of Howick Hall, near Preston, and restored to the church. The bowl is nearly square (11½ inches by 13 inches), with the edges chamfered. The faces have sunk panels without borders, and they contain respectively the figures (1) 16, (2) 67, (3) a star, (4) T.P. (or perhaps T.R., for Thomas Robinson, who was incumbent at the time of its erection, 1667). The character of the T is so similar to that in the inscription on the Hoole font that I suspect it came from the hands of the same mason. It is supported on a roughly-hewn block of sandstone on a square base. A less artistic production of the sculptor's craft could scarcely be imagined.

Rufford

A church has been in existence at Rufford since at least the middle of the fourteenth century, but all trace of an early font has been lost. The old font in the church probably dates from pre-Reformation times, and it consists of an hexagonal bowl with slightly moulded rim and base. It now rests on an elaborately carved column of classical style, but the original support, a plain hexagonal shaft with a square base, now stands in the rectory garden.

The wooden font cover is interesting, and it probably dates from the Jacobean period. It is pyramidal in design, it stands 32 inches high, and it has been painted. Carved around the base is the inscription: NIϒON ANOMHMA MH MONAN OϒIN.

Standish

Standish church possesses a fine and well-preserved specimen of a font which I suspect to be coeval with the present church, which was rebuilt 1582-1584. The bowl is a massive octagon, 35 inches across, and each face has a sunk panel containing a six-leaved ornament enclosing a shield—an ornament in no way differing from that on the font at Sefton (Hundred of West Derby, *qui vide*), except that while the shields on the Standish font are deeply divided *per pale*, those on the Sefton one have the pale marked only by a slight ridge. The bowl is tapered below to a shaft of clustered columns which stands on a pyramidal octagonal base. Both the bowl and base are of red sandstone, but the shaft is of a lighter coloured stone and is probably of more recent construction.

The correspondence in style between the Standish font and that at Sefton is probably explained if it be a fact (as I am informed by the rector, the Rev. C. W. N. Hutton) that Rector Mody (or Moody), who rebuilt the church, and whose fine effigy is still preserved therein, was previous to this appointment to Standish curate at Sefton.

HUNDRED OF WEST DERBY

Altcar

A wooden church existed in this now sparsely populated parish as far back as 1558, and it is probably the bowl of the font that was coeval with this church that now lies, weatherbeaten and neglected, in the churchyard. It has for companions the base of a cross and another font of the sundial form that was fashionable in the eighteenth century (it bears the initials of the churchwardens and the date 1747). The older font is irregularly heptagonal in shape, with one of the angles produced and grooved like a spout. It appears quite devoid of ornament, and is very rude in construction. It measures almost a foot in diameter by four or five inches in depth, and it is probably not older than the sixteenth century.

Aughton (fig. 5)

The font that stands beneath the unusually placed tower of Aughton church, and which is still in use, is unique in its character so far as our district is concerned, nor have I ever seen any font at all approaching this one in appearance. It is of fine-grained sandstone, and its capacious octagonal bowl with plain faces is surmounted by a battlemented parapet now decidedly the worse for rough usage. The bowl, which measures thirty-one inches across, is supported on a column of four semi-detached shafts with plain capitals and square-shouldered bases. This support is of the same age as the bowl, but the base and plinth on which it rests are modern additions. This font is distinctly Perpendicular in style, and is an interesting example of fifteenth century workmanship.

Farnworth (near Widnes)

The church at Farnworth was in existence in the reign of Henry VII., when the Perpendicular style of architecture was at its best, but if the font now in use

Fig. 5.—Aughton.
Fig. 7.—Sefton.

Fig. 6.—Ormskirk.
Fig. 8.—Winwick.

Huyton (fig. 9)

During the rebuilding of Huyton parish church in 1873, the workmen found beneath the pavement of the tower the interesting barrel-shaped font that is now carefully preserved within the church. Unfortunately it has been badly cracked, but the injury is not sufficient to obliterate the sculptured ornament, which is in low relief. This consists of arcades of semi-circular arches on pillars with the small square-edged capitals and pyramidal bases seen in Saxon and early Norman architecture. Each of the eleven compartments contains a human face with a rayed nimbus above and a curved label below, while the space above the arcading is occupied with a series of circles with six-petalled flowers. The bowl is twenty-two inches high by twenty-six inches outside diameter, and when found it contained the original lead lining, and there are still traces in the rim of the staple by which a cover had been attached.[1] The late Henry Ecroyd Smith, who described the font shortly after its discovery (*Trans. Hist. Soc. of Lanc. and Ches.*, 1878), was of opinion that it dated from the eighth or ninth century; an opinion which he derived from the type of ornament (the arcading and six-petalled flower) which he believed the Saxons copied from the Roman altars and other sculptured remains that must have been frequent at that time.

In Huyton churchyard, near the entrance to the rectory garden, is an old and weatherbeaten font now used as a flower-pot. The bowl is massive, nearly square (with a circular basin), but with the sides slightly rounded and the angles somewhat produced. It is entirely without

[1] It is of frequent occurrence to find traces of the attachment of the hinges or hasp of the cross-bar which secured the cover of all mediæval fonts. It was ordered, in 1236, by Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, that all baptismal fonts should be provided with a cover and kept locked in order to preserve the consecrated water from the influence of witchcraft. Very often the rim of an old font is found damaged at the place of attachment of hinge or hasp through forcible removal of the cover.

Fig. 9.—Huyton.

Fig. 10.—Walton-on-the-Hill.

ornament, but as the rim on one side still contains some of the solder that has attached the staple, the font probably dates from pre-Reformation times.

The font in use in Huyton church I include in this series with considerable doubt. It is in such excellent preservation that had it not been described in the *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Ches.*, 1881-2, p. 88, by Mr. F. T. Turton as dating from about 1460, I should have considered it a recent copy of a font of the fifteenth century. It has an octagonal bowl, with the faces narrowing downwards in a curve, each with a deeply recessed panel containing a quarterfoil with pointed leaves enclosing a plain shield. The stem and base are also octagonal, with a series of simple mouldings of Perpendicular character.

Kirkby (fig. 12)

Perhaps the most interesting of the old fonts of South-West Lancashire is the magnificent example that now stands in Kirkby church, in the parish of Walton-on-the-Hill, an apt illustration of the remark with which this article opened, for the church is entirely modern, and not a vestige remains of any previously existing church on its site.

Kirkby font consists of a massive sandstone bowl supported on a modern twisted shaft which is inserted into the original base. The sculpture around the bowl is in high relief, and consists of a series of ten arcades of semi-circular arches of varying height and width, supported on piers with capitals and bases of early type. The compartments of the arcade contain rudely sculptured figures, and the principal group, now facing east, represents the Temptation, in which Adam is receiving the apple held out to him by the legendary mother of our race, whose hair reaches to her feet in an enormous coil or plait. Between the figures is the Tree of Life, round which twines a serpent who leers at Eve with malicious grin. To the left stands a draped figure who wields a

huge sword and points the way out of the garden. In another compartment a figure grasps with both hands a spear or staff, the lower end of which rests in the open mouth of one of a series of serpents, whose coiled bodies form a support for the bowl and raise their heads above the coil. The figures in the remaining compartments are clad in ecclesiastical costumes, and are thought to represent the seven orders of the Church in Saxon times—the Mass priest, the deacon, the sub-deacon, the acolyth, the exorcist, the lector, and the ostiary. The whole font is very massive, and the bowl measures twenty-five inches in height by twenty-eight inches in external diameter. The original base, upon which the bowl probably rested without any intervening shaft, consists of a single coil or cable nine inches wide, and it measures three feet across.

I think there cannot be any doubt that this was the font of the church referred to in *Domesday Book*, and until some sixty years ago this remarkable example of Saxon workmanship was used as a rain-water receptacle and as a stone on which the school children were in the habit of sharpening their knives and pencils, with its sculpture, fortunately, hidden beneath successive coats of whitewash! It was restored to the church by the late incumbent, and is now used for its original purpose.

Lathom

My attention was directed not long ago to an old font lying in the grounds of Lathom Park, near the private chapel, and which is said to have been recovered from a stable by Lady Wilbraham, who gave a new trough in exchange for it. This, which is locally said to be the old font of Burscough Priory, is of rough sandstone, irregularly octagonal in shape, and badly broken. It has not the slightest vestige of ornament, but its massive character, its large size, and particularly the damage to the rim by the wrenching off of the cover-fastening, all point to its being pre-Reformation in date.

Melling

In the south-west corner of Melling church is an octagonal font with plain faces and a series of roll mouldings of Perpendicular character. The stem (part of which is lost) is a plain octagon, and it is without a base. It has been covered with a coat of grey paint, but not sufficiently to hide the tool marks. It is difficult to assign an age to this font, but its size and character suggest that it belongs to the mediæval period.

Ormskirk (fig. 6)

We are not left in doubt as to the age of the font in Ormskirk church, for it bears the date 1661 on one of the faces of its hexagonal bowl, the other faces having, within panels, a crown with the initials C. R. (*Carolus Rex*), the eagle and child—the crest of the Stanleys—a dumb-bell-shaped figure, a cross saltier, and a cross on steps. The bowl, which is seventeen inches in diameter, is supported on a column with engaged shafts and roll mouldings, and a plain base.

Roby

The old font that stands in use as a flower-pot in Roby churchyard is said to have been brought hither from Prescot church. It is a plain circular bowl of red sandstone of unusually large size, its *inside* diameter being twenty-three inches and its circumference eight feet three inches. It is supported on a plain cylinder of sandstone without any base. It may once have borne some ornament, for it has the appearance of having been smoothed with a chisel during recent times, and it may well be the ancient font of Prescot church, which is known to have existed in the thirteenth century.

Sefton (fig. 7)

The font in Sefton church is a well-preserved one of unusual pattern. It has an octagonal bowl, each face of

which has a deeply sunk panel containing a six-leaved ornament enclosing a plain shield. The bowl, which measures thirty-three inches across, tapers downwards to an octagonal shaft, which again enlarges to a low octagonal base, all the angles of the shaft and base having wide fillets. The heavy pyramidal oak cover, which was once coloured and gilt, bears the initials, R.R. : HM : C.W. (*i.e.*, churchwardens), and the date 1688, but I am inclined to think the font itself of earlier date than the cover—probably late fifteenth century.

Walton-on-the-Hill (fig. 10)

In 1817 Matthew Gregson, the well-known Lancashire antiquary, called attention to an old font that had been turned out of Walton Church in 1754 and was at that time in use as a seat and mounting-stool by the door of the village public-house. It was removed to the churchyard, and, within recent years, has been restored to its original use in the church, where it stands on a modern support of a plain central and three twisted lateral columns somewhat after the style of those beneath the celebrated Norman font in Winchester Cathedral. Though it has been very badly used, it is perhaps, next to that at Kirkby, in the same parish, the most interesting of our South-West Lancashire fonts. It consists of a massive circular bowl of sandstone, having round its exterior six raised panels which, with the intervening spaces, are occupied with rude carvings apparently cut with an axe, but these are now much obliterated by exposure and ill-usage. These figures, so far as can be deciphered, represent the Tree of Life with the serpent coiled round it, and figures of Adam and Eve, and, in a space between two panels, a figure with a nimbus seated on an ass preceded (on a panel) by a figure on foot carrying a child—which appears to be an unconventional representation of the flight into Egypt. Other interspaces appear to have been occupied with a

FIG. 11.—WIGAN

FIG. 12.—KIRKBY.

flowing floral design of good type. This font undoubtedly dates from the early Norman or late Saxon period, possibly from the reign of Edward the Confessor, when a church was in existence at "Waletone."

Wigan (fig. 11)

The bowl of an old font that has been badly used lies (unless it has recently been removed) in the garden of Wigan Hall, and which since its removal from the parish church has done duty as a rain-water butt and a flower-pot. It is of large size, of mill-stone grit, octagonal in shape, with a band of quarterfoils around its outer surface, so arranged as to allow of a pair of these ornaments to each face, except that one face of the octagon has been left rough as though for attachment to a pier or wall, and this rough surface has been pierced with a *foramen* for carrying off the water. An additional hole (the one shown in the figure) has been made at a more recent period. This font, which dates from the fourteenth or fifteenth century, certainly deserves preservation from further damage.

Winwick (fig. 8)

Outside, beneath the east window of Winwick church and by the side of the remains of the once beautiful Saxon cross, lies a fragment of the bowl of the old font that was discovered beneath the tower of Winwick church during the restoration in 1877. It is octagonal in shape, and each face is covered with a diaper pattern of a carefully carved modification of the rose ornament with a central boss, but now so worn down as to be distinguished only with difficulty. The character of the ornament appears to point to this being a font of the Decorated period (fourteenth century). It would be interesting if this could be confirmed by some sidelight, for fonts of this period are, by comparison, decidedly scarce.

Conclusion

As a summary of our survey of the ancient fonts of South-West Lancashire, it may be of interest to note that out of the *twenty-nine* fonts that have been included in the foregoing series at least *twelve* out of the *seventeen* that remain in the Hundred of West Derby may be referred without doubt to a date prior to the sixteenth century; while of the *twelve* old fonts of the Hundred of Leyland not more than *three* can be considered to be older than the time of the Reformation. It would be interesting if the reason for this disparity in the ages of the fonts in these two adjoining Hundreds could be explained.

HIGH FURNESS

By Professor W. G. Collingwood, M.A., F.S.A.

TO Liverpool and Manchester people, and still more to south-countrymen, High Furness, or the land between Windermere and the Duddon, is hardly known to be a part of Lancashire. It is popularly reckoned with the rest of the Lake District, and called Cumberland or Westmorland; and when the difference is pointed out, strangers are sure to exclaim against the absurdities of political geography.

But in this case political geography is not so absurd as it looks. Lancaster is the nearest county town. The justice or juryman summoned to assizes or quarter sessions from Coniston or Hawkshead has a tedious journey, but he thanks his fortune that he need not travel to Carlisle or Appleby. It is true that we are in the diocese of Carlisle. The change, made in 1856, was an improvement upon previous relations—or want of relations—with the more distant see of Chester, but it hardly brought the hill-folk of Furness into touch with the nominal centre of their ecclesiastical life.

In old times the connection with Lancaster was still more necessary, and much more obvious than it seems from a casual glance at the map. The sea, coloured blue to high-water mark, and seeming to cut Lancashire into two separate parts, does not really cover the whole area of Morecambe Bay except when the tide is in; and in the days of few roads, and rough ones at best, the sands gave access, always easy and usually safe, to the town on the opposite shore. Lancaster was only about eighteen miles from Ulverston by this route,

whereas to reach Carlisle or Appleby, the county towns of Cumberland and Westmorland, needed a very long journey by more difficult and dangerous tracks over hill and dale. Indeed, the central parts of the Lake District were too wild for ordinary travel in the Middle Ages. Civilization crept but slowly up to the mountains from the surrounding lowlands, and for many an age Helvellyn and Glaramara and Scafell stood as a great barrier between the south and the north.

Political geography is conditioned by physical; and the mountain-range was not only a watershed, but a division between alien rules and races. Cumberland was no part of William the Conqueror's kingdom, and for a century after him it remained to a great degree under Scottish influence. Furness, being immediately accessible from Lancaster, came naturally under the influences which formed the character of Lancaster itself. It was surveyed in Domesday, and before long colonized on behalf of the Norman settlement by the abbey and by Michael le Fleming, so that when the county of Lancashire was formed it was necessarily included. The people of Furness, with their customs and dialect, came to have certain differences from those of Cumberland. For instance, a Cumberland man for "little" said "laal," but a Furness man said "lile," which was quite enough to mark the absence of close connection and intercourse. And not only because there had once been a Scots raid round the coast, but as showing a certain antagonism to the north, it became a Furness proverb, "Nowt good ever comes round Black Combe." So also at Ambleside they said, "Nowt good comes o'er the Raise"—that is, over Dunmail Raise, from Cumberland.

History repeats itself, and there had been a similar division of races very much earlier. In prehistoric remains we can distinguish between types north and south of the Lake mountains. The earliest grave-mounds and tumuli do not show this difference; indeed, those of

Brathray Bridge in 1841.

Drawn by William Collingwood R.W.S.

High Furness have not yielded any very distinctive relics. Mr. H. S. Cowper, F.S.A., found simple interments in cairns on Torver Moor, and a burnt body with a flint knife in a mound on Hawkshead Moor. Cists, with burnt bones, have been unearthed from the Giant's Grave on Blawith Knott, and from the great tumulus above Kirkby. Stone circles exist in the hills (one on Bleaberry Haws, and the remains of another at Knapperthaw), but less in size than the Birkrigg circle in Low Furness, and not to be compared with the great megalithic remains at Swinside, just over the Cumberland border. There are also ring-mounds on Banniside or Banishead Moor above Coniston, on Hare Crags, Torver, at Goathwaite, and at Kirkby. But there is one type of ancient remains, illustrated by the so-called "Stone Rings" at Burney, near Heathwaite, which is akin to the "British Settlements" especially characteristic of Furness and Westmorland. This type of early homestead has been explored recently at Urswick, in Low Furness, and at Ewe Close, near Crosby Ravensworth, and found to consist of a great circular stone house, too large and too solidly built to be called a hut, standing among cattle-folds and small hut-circles, and defended by an outer wall of massive masonry—a sort of cashel, as it would be called in Ireland. In the Urswick settlement there was found a bit of bronze with a pattern which may be pre-Roman; at Ewe Close, Romano-British pottery dated the site. In such dwellings, half farm and half fort, British chiefs hereabouts lived during the Roman occupation, and somewhat earlier and later, possessing more of material civilisation than is usually attributed to their age and race, and gradually adopting, as we see from the plan and structure of their buildings and the pottery lying on the pavement of their houses or thrown out broken at the door, some hints from their Roman neighbours at the great military stations. The small example at Burney, not yet excavated but

apparently, from the structure of the walls, of this type, shows that High Furness was within the area inhabited by this particular race or tribe of Late-Celtic Britons; but we have not yet found examples of this style of building in the part of Cumberland divided from Furness and Westmorland by the Lake mountains.

Of Roman remains none have been found in High Furness except some brick at Hawkshead Hall and a coin of Aurelius not far from it (at Colthouse). But the station at Ambleside was upon the river bordering the district, and the line of road from Ambleside to Hardknott and Ravenglass camps must have run partly through Lancashire ground. There may have been a Roman route through Satterthwaite from Ambleside southward, but this is not proved; and it is still less certain that the tradition, or theory, is true that the Coniston mines were worked by the Romans. The valley bottoms of High Furness in those days were probably almost choked with forest and swamp, and through many centuries Anno Domini there are no evidences that they were inhabited. The ancient ruins are all placed high on the hillsides or on the moors, where forest must have given way to thin groves of birch and open tracts of heather.

Among these ruins are several curious groups of walls, built without mortar, like the fences of the country, but apparently dating from a time before the fences were put up. At Seathwaite (in Longhouse-gill, and below the Walna-scar road), in Dunnerdale (near Stonestar), above Coniston (at Scrow-moss and beside Torver beck on Banniside), and at Heathwaite on the ridge south of the Giant's Grave, there are remains of this class, described by Mr. H. S. Cowper in *Archæologia*, liii. They are not solidly built like the Late-Celtic masonry, but irregular and primitive in plan, high on the moors, and in some cases they seem to contain round huts. The mere existence of round huts does not

necessarily prove high antiquity, because the charcoal-burners and bark-peelers even yet build temporary huts in the woods, which, when deserted, gradually sink down into something very like true hut-circles, and two or three instances can be pointed out which seem to have deceived unwary antiquaries. But all the circumstances taken together suggest that these remains may be at any rate early mediæval; possibly the first homes of those who subsequently cleared the valleys and began to make the country fit for agriculture.

With these we are tempted to connect the long dykes which are found on Hawkshead and Torver moors. It is true that prehistoric interment-cairns have been found near these dykes, but it does not follow that both types are of the same age, for the modern shop often stands next to the Norman church—the past is continually seen alongside of the present. At Ewe Close British settlement, already mentioned, similar dykes are found crossing and destroying the great Roman road of the Maiden Way, and pretty certainly intended as early mediæval inclosures or boundaries of estates. In Cumberland the Bishop's dyke and the Baron's dyke are probably of the same class; and though it seems that great labour was expended on these works, we often find the solidity of early structures to be apparently disproportionate to their usefulness. The dyke at Bleaberry Haws on Torver Moor has been thought by one antiquary to have been a deer-trap, into which the deer were driven along the valley, and shot when they were caught in the fork of the inclosure. This idea has been denied with ridicule, but it may perhaps be supported by an argument based on old place-names as preserved in a document of 1170-84, printed in Mr. Farrer's *Lancashire Pipe-Rolls* (p. 443). The bounds of Seathwaite and Dunnerdale are described as running up the Lickle to Deirsgard or Dearsgard, and from the head of the fence upwards to Calfheud, and thence to

the head of the valley of Glanscalan or Glensalan, and so to Wrynose. Now we have the start and finish of the line fixed, but the three stations between, though they must be on the ridge which still forms the boundary, have entirely lost their names. But anyone who knows the ground will see that the ancient line, following the Lickle up to the Caw-moss, would not cross the marsh but bend to the right, and in a few hundred yards would strike the upper part of the Bleaberry-haws dyke, where it would meet the present boundary of Broughton and Torver; then going up to the White Maidens, the ancient name for the rocks on the south end of Walna-scar; then following the ridge to the head of the glen of Gaits-water, anciently known as The Cove, and in the local pronunciation—as "cauf" is from the Norse *kálfr*, not from the Anglo-Saxon *cealf*—even in the twelfth century Calf-head and Cove-head must have been practically identical. Thence to Levers-hause, which must be the head of "Glen-scalan," giving us, as it seems, the old Celtic name of the Coniston copper mines valley, parallel with Glenridding and Glencoin, Glenderaterra and Glenderamakin, a point not without interest in connection with the Celtic survivals of the Lake District. But if this interpretation is right, Deersgarth would be the name for the Bleaberry-haws dyke, and its use as a preserve, if not a trap, and its twelfth century date would be suggested.

North of the Lake mountains in Cumberland there are many traces of the Celtic inhabitants in names of mountains, valleys, and even villages; but in High Furness they are so few that "Glenscalan" is a notable addition to the list, showing that Celtic nomenclature had not so entirely died out in the twelfth century as in the twentieth. The Coniston "Old Man" has been supposed to represent a Welsh "Allt Maen," but this is as unsupported as the guess that it is the Latin "Altus Mons." Most probably the summit—not the whole

mountain—was so called from the ancient cairn or "man" which existed on its top; "man," no doubt from "maen," being the usual local word:

> And there they built up without mortar or lime
> A *man* on the peak of the crag,

as Wordsworth wrote.

Some river names, as everywhere, are Celtic—Duddon, Crake, Leven, and Beck Leven. But here we pass at once to names of Norse origin, for "beck" is the old Norse word, so old that even at the settlement of Iceland it was already becoming antiquated, though used in a few place-names and preserved in Icelandic poetry. It seems to show that the Norse settlement of High Furness was at any rate not much later than that of Iceland; and the absence of names which can certainly be referred to Anglo-Saxon of the early settlement type shows that the Norse immigration was the first great and important source of population in this district. Some few names ending in *-ham*, and more in *-ton*, formerly supposed to imply Saxon and Anglian settlements respectively, are not conclusive, for *-ham* is often proved to be a corruption of *-holme* in these parts; and *-heimr* (-home) is also good Norse, as in Thrandheimr (Trondhjem) and Sólheimar (a name of the original settlement in Iceland); while -tún, the common word in Iceland for the inclosure in which a homestead and its surroundings stand, is occasionally found in place-names, as in Hánatún (an original settlement in Iceland) and Sigtúnir (an ancient site in Sweden). Pennington, in the north of Low Furness, seems from its form to be Anglian—the *tun* of the Pæningas; but Ulverston, near it, must be Ulfar's-tún, the homestead of a man with a Norse name. In a word, all the old High Furness names, with an exception or two to be noticed, are Norse, showing that the district owes its settlement to the Vikings.

One exception is Coniston, *c.* 1163 Coningeston, which looks like *Cyninges-tun*, the Anglo-Saxon "town

of the King"; and if it could be proved that the mines were then worked, and that some king took royalties from them, the name might be explained. But we have no reason, beyond a vague tradition, for supposing that these mines were known so early, though the iron-mines in Low Furness were known as Ouregrave, the ore-pit, before the Conquest, and a Roman bloomery or smelting-hearth has been found at Ambleside. There is, indeed, in Iceland a place called Kongsbakki, "King's bank," though no kings ever ruled personally in Iceland. But an alternative meaning of Coniston is "Rabbits' tún," which is said to be the derivation of the place of the same name in Craven. Whatever be the derivation, the fact of the identity of names is important, and adds to a series of similar identities which refer many names in Cumberland and Westmorland to places in the Danelaw. Now at the ravaging of the Danelaw by William the Conqueror, it is probable that many of the inhabitants fled to these parts, which were then free from Norman rule, and it is possible that they gave their new homes the names of the old. This may account for Coniston and for Lowick, anciently Lofwic, which may be named after Lowick in Northamptonshire, another part of the Danelaw which was ravaged.

On the other hand, there are early traces of some English influence in High Furness. In Langdenelitle (*c.* 1163) *dene*[1] is English for the Norse *dalr*, Langdale, as it is now called. At the same date Trutehil was the name for Troutal on the Duddon, which seems, like Troutbeck (which occurs in Gospatric's charter of the eleventh century), to be from the Anglo-Saxon *truht*, a trout. But as the English element is joined to the Norse

1 Mr. H. S. Cowper, who has kindly read the proof of this chapter, remarks that the "dens" of the south-east are said to date back to the formation of the Kingdom of Kent, originally swine-pastures, which in Norman times were turned into or attached to manors. In this case, however, *dene* seems to be simply the English equivalent of the Norse alternative, meaning "valley."

beck, it is more likely that the Norse borrowed an occasional English word than that there was any extensive pre-Norse settlement of English. In High Furness the Viking immigration seems to be proved not only by place-names, but also by dialect survivals, ethnology and folk-lore, and by such personal names of landowners as are recorded. Indeed, the tympanum of the old church at Pennington, with its runic inscription, "[Ga]mial seti thesa kirk," etc., shows that in the middle of the twelfth century the language spoken in Furness was not English, but a degenerate Old Norse.

Gamel de Pennington himself had a Norse name. At Domesday the landholders were Norse or Gallgael —Thorolf, Örnulf, Orm, Duvan, Gospatric, Gillemichel; and of the witnesses to the division of High Furness (*c.* 1163) the local names are Dolfin and Orm, and Dolfin and Orm juniores of Kirkby (Ireleth), Orm of Orgrave, Gillo-Michael of Marton, Benedict (son of Gamel) and Swift of Pennington, Stephen (a name much used by the Norse) of Urswick, with Bernard and Erenbald of Dalton, the Furness monks' estate, held doubtless by their Norman nominees. There are other Norse names on the list whose homes cannot be located. In place-names we have Thorstein (in *Turstini-watra*), as the ancient lord of Coniston lake; Hákon, as the settler at Hawkenside (Hawkshead); Hauk, as the owner of Hawkswell (Hauks-vellir); Asmund, of Osmotherley (Asmundar-law, perhaps, however, imported from Yorkshire at the ravaging); Arni, of Arnside; Finn, of Finsthwaite; possibly also Rolf, of Rolesland, the old name of Rusland, Swein, of Swinsness, the Windermere Ferry-point, and Hjalti, of Elterwater—twelfth century, Heltewatra (Hjaltavatr). All the early personal names we can gather seem to be Norse, except those obviously brought in from known sources.

Turning to the dialect we find, as the Rev. T. Ellwood has pointed out (*Glossary*, English Dialect Society,

1895), that the old and commonly used farming terms are pretty pure Norse. The style of agriculture and pastoral life was such as the Scandinavian settlers in other parts of Britain practised. Some light is thrown on this subject by the code of farming laws drawn up for the Færoese islanders, and known as the "Sheep letter" (see Dr. Jakob Jakobsen's *Diplomatarium Færoense*). In folk-lore the survival of the words "arval" for food at a funeral feast, and "dordum," the tumult of the "door-doom" or court of law held at the door of the offender's house, can hardly be explained otherwise than as direct Norse tradition.

Too much, perhaps, has been made of the possible "Thingmount" at Fellfoot, a few yards over the northern border of High Furness. It is a terraced mound, somewhat resembling the Manx Tynwald mount and the Thingmount (formerly existing) of the Ostmen at Dublin. Locally, it is said to be an old garden-terrace, but we do not know of any analogy in local gardens to this hillock, terraced all round, unlike the terraces which look chiefly to the south. On the other hand, it stands at the junction of four ancient ways, making it a convenient meeting-place for all parts of the central Lake District; and though there is nothing to prove that the Norsemen met here for their Thing, the suggestion is not yet disproved, and the evidences of Norse settlement are full and complete.

From the map it can be seen that a very large proportion of the old-established homesteads are *-thwaites*. The word, as used in Iceland, means more than "a cut-off place," clearing, or inclosure; it means a grassy field sloping down to a marsh or lake, and this is the usual meaning here. "*The* Thwaite" at Coniston, and the land called "Thwaites" near Millom, are good instances. There are also many words expressing a stage of farm-life, such as lasted much longer in the Highlands and Hebrides, where the custom of taking flocks and

herds to summer pastures, now called shielings, was noted in saga times by the use of the word *erg*, explained in the Orkneyinga-saga as equivalent to *setr*, the modern *sæter; erg* itself being from the Gaelic *airidh*, or its Galloway form, *aroch*, and in place-names making *ergh*, *ark*, *arrow*, and *airy*. Here we have Satterthwaite, the field of the sæter belonging to Rusland, while the swine of the farm were sent further up the valley to Grisedale (Gríss-dalr) for their pannage. Seathwaite (Seat-thwaite) probably means much the same. Nibthwaite (anciently Neburthwaite) and Subberthwaite seem to be named from their relation to Blawith (blá-vidhr, the "blue" or black wood), though the meaning is not quite clear. Many of the places ending in -thwaite are more recent than the Norse settlement, for the word became naturalized in the dialect and was applied later. Another word for "dairy" in Norse was *sel*, which appears in Sella and Selside. From *erg* and *airidh* we have Little Arrow (like Arrow in Wirral, Cheshire); Torver, anciently Thorvergh (in a charter of 119-), which must mean the shieling on the peat moss, *torf;* Arklid, the *hlíd* or hillside of the shieling; and a lonesome spot in the wild upper dell of the Lickle bears the pretty name of Fairy Ark, probably representing *færi-erg*, the shieling of the sheep (compare *færikvíar*, Icelandic for sheep-pen). In the twelfth century the name of the river Brathay was written Braiza, with "z" for the letter *thorn*, later written as "y" in "ye" for "the"; this is pure Norse, *Breidh-á*, the broad river, which rightly describes it. At the same time Wrynose was Wrei-nes-hals, the hause (pass) of the ness of the corner or nook, Wray being still the name of a place in High Furness. Tilberthwaite was Tillesburc, or, later, Tildesburgthwaite, probably from *tjalds-borg*, a tent-shaped hill, such as stands up conspicuously in the middle of the dale. Other Norse names are Claife (*kleif*, a ridge of cliffs), Colwith (perhaps *kol-vidhr*,

wood for charcoal), Skelwith (*skál-vidhr*, wood of the scale or shed), Sawrey (*saurr*, mud, and wray); Southerstead (*saudha-stadir*, sheep farm, like Saudhafell, in Iceland, and Southerfell, between Keswick and Penrith) and Soutergate; Stonestar (*stein-stadhr*, stone farm—compare the -ster of Orkney and Shetland from *stadhr*); Keldray (the wray of the *Kelda*, spring); Greenodd (*græn-oddi*, the green promontory); Bouth (like Boot in Cumberland and Boat in Scotland—*búdh*, a temporary house or booth). All these seem to be early names, and to show the peaceful and pastoral nature of the settlement.

We have noticed the immigration of the Norse at some length, because subsequent history is hardly to be understood without recognizing the free, if rude, condition of High Furness folk when the Abbot of Furness and the Baron of Kendal bethought them, in the middle of the twelfth century, of taking possession of the *hinterland* which, by legal theory, belonged to their estates. The division was made by thirty sworn men, chiefly landholders of Low Furness and Lonsdale, and the abbey got the eastern portion, that between Coniston and Windermere, from the Brathay to Greenodd. This became the parish of Hawkshead, where a chapel was founded some time before 1200. The baron took the whole western side of the Coniston and Crake valley, from Little Langdale to Ulverston, which became the lordship of Ulverston, and was reckoned in Ulverston parish. The eastern side of the Duddon valley was before long assigned to the lord of Kirkby, and, with his original estate, formed the parish of Kirkby Ireleth.[1] Much later, and chiefly after the

[1] High Furness is now understood to consist of the manors of Hawkshead, Coniston, Torver, Blawith, Broughton, Lowick, Egton-cum-Newland, Kirkby, and Dunnerdale and Seathwaite; excluding Ulverston, Osmotherley, Pennington, and Dalton.

Reformation, chapels were built in the more populous centres, and some of these ultimately became parish churches.

At first the monks found it difficult to deal with the free settlers; there are indications of revolt and repression; but in the next century the conquest of the upland country was made by the introduction of industries. A great part of the revenue of the monks came from their iron mines, acquired early in the thirteenth century, at Orgrave and Elliscales. Using charcoal, they needed an acre of forest to smelt two tons of metal, and as people in those days were improvident of fuel—whence the disafforestation of large tracts in the north—the charcoal-burning industry was pushed further and further up into the hills. In 1240 they got leave from the baron, who owned the lakes of Coniston and Windermere, to put boats on the water for carrying and for fishing. The carrying was chiefly of timber for building, but the tops and branches were made into charcoal. Before 1282 the baron granted to the priory of Conishead the dead wood in Blawith to supply the canons' bloomeries or smelting-hearths, for they followed the example of the monks. And so during that century, as it seems, iron smelting was introduced on both shores of Coniston Lake.

At the time of the Dissolution the Commissioners of Henry VIII. mentioned that the abbots of Furness had "a smythey and sometime two or three" in the woods of High Furness. Canon Atkinson, in his introduction to the Coucher Book of the Abbey, reckoned that they must have had some forty hearths to produce the iron they made; and it is possible that the many sites now to be seen along the lake-shore and in the dales, strewn with slag, and sometimes showing the circular stone-built, fire-reddened furnaces, were for the most part mediæval. After the Dissolution the industry was carried on with improved methods, and the tendency was to

centralize in a smaller number of great furnaces, at Backbarrow, Nibthwaite, Cunsey, and Coniston; but there are about thirty known bloomery sites in High Furness, of which about half are in the Coniston valley, many being on the shore of the lake and one on Peel Island. On one of the Derwentwater islands there was also a bloomery (Rampsholme), placed there, perhaps, for protection; but it is strange to reflect as one rows leisurely in and out of the wooded and fern-fringed bays, watching the heron sail and the teal settle, that this sylvan wilderness was once almost a "black country"; that the smoke and flame of the iron furnaces rose from point to point beneath dark hills, denuded of their ancient woods and tenanted by rough colliers, burning charcoal from the remaining coppices, while the busy boats went up and down with cargoes of ore and iron. Still more must it be a surprise to the reader of Ruskin, who comes on pilgrimage to the favourite seat of the great opponent of the iron-furnace, to find it planted on the ruins of an extinct forge, and to pick up bits of slag from the shore where now Beck Leven runs so peacefully into the beautiful lake.

Conishead Priory, which emulated Furness Abbey in pushing the iron trade into the heart of High Furness, had obtained from the barons of Kendal nearly all the western side of the Crake and Coniston valley by the time of the Dissolution (1536). Coniston village itself, though later called "Church Coniston," always remained under secular owners. At first the family of Urswick, originally Norse, and then, on the marriage of the heiress to Sir Richard le Fleming (about 1250 or later), the family of Aldingham and Beckermet, originally Flemish, became its masters. The Flemings remained seated at Coniston, where they built the old hall late in the fifteenth century, and enlarged it under Elizabeth, until they finally deserted it as a residence about the beginning of the reign of George I.

Seathwaite and Dunnerdale seem to have been left without a resident magnate. At Ulpha, on the Cumberland side of the valley, there are ruins of a late pele-tower, built by a branch of the Millom Hudlestons; but the east side of the Duddon valley remained primitive and pastoral, with no written history.

How rough and out-of-the-way the whole district must have been in the Middle Ages we gather from such stray notices as that in the Flodden ballad of "Fellows fierce from Furness Fells," and from the story of the outlawed Adam of Beaumont (near Leeds), who took refuge with his fellows here in 1346 after slaying Sir John Elland in revenge for the murder of Sir Robert Beaumont. They seem to have stayed in Furness Fells until 1363 or later—a gang of brigands, among people who were no doubt as lawless as themselves. The abbot had already free warren, and the grant which allowed him in 1338 to impark did not mean that he then created deer-parks. The object was to inclose for sheep-farms, and the "parks" made were in areas where the forest seems to have been cleared by wood-cutting for timber and charcoal, for Water Park, Parkamoor, and Lawson Park, three of the "parks" thus made, stand above ancient bloomery sites, and at the Dissolution are mentioned as "hardwicks," or "herdwicks," where the abbey's "hird" kept the native sheep, still known by the name of Herdwick sheep. The abbey did some trade in wool, no doubt from these parks; and in the fifteenth century High Furness became more civilised, not only by the residence of the agents of the abbey at Hawkshead, where the hall was then built or rebuilt as the court-house of the manor, and at Monk Coniston, but also by the increase of agriculture among the tenants. This is seen from the creation of the ancient farms called "grounds," and known by the names of the families who held them. By 1532 these tenants had "inclosed common pasture more largelie than they ought to doe, under the

colour of one bargaine called Bounding of the pasture," and a definite permission was then given to inclose parcels of land, which legalised the "grounds." It was not before 1516 that the abbot made a deer-park in High Furness, probably on the site now called Dale-park, though the deer-park of Coniston Hall was perhaps earlier. When the abbey was dissolved (1537), there were various industries carried on beside iron-smelting and sheep-farming, especially industries connected with wood; coopers and turners are mentioned, who made "Sadeltrees, Cartwheles, cuppes, disshes, and many other thynges," so that the industrial invasion of High Furness by the monks had turned out successfully.

The Dissolution upset the whole social order. Some attempt was made to continue the iron-works, but it was stopped in 1564 on the ground of the wasting of the woods. Meanwhile population had increased, and the sub-division of the land had been carried to its furthest limit. In 1557, according to a schedule of property in the bailiwick of Torver (printed by Mr. A. P. Brydson in *Two Lakeland Townships*, p. 174), there were very many small holdings of two, three, or four acres. The tenants had, of course, the right of pasture on the commons, but without some organised industries life must have been very hard; and without the introduction of something to take the place, more or less, of the beneficent management of the abbey and priory, it is difficult to see how the countryside could have escaped congestion and famine. That the abbey rule was locally regarded as beneficent is shown by the fact that Hawkshead was summoned to join, and probably did join, in the Pilgrimage of Grace, the disastrous rebellion of 1537 in favour of the dissolved monasteries.

At Coniston things were kept going by the Flemings. Under Elizabeth, Squire William, "a gentleman of great pomp and expence, by which he injured an opulent fortune," as Father West wrote, no doubt profited his

Coniston Hall.

poorer neighbours by enlarging his hall and building the church. At Hawkshead a still more efficient benefactor appeared in Edwin Sandys, who was born at Esthwaite Hall, and in 1575 became Archbishop of York. He made Hawkshead a parish in the full sense, created the Grammar School, and assured the rights of the customary tenants. Early in the seventeenth century Letters Patent were granted for a weekly market at Hawkshead, and there seems some reason to believe that for a time at least a market for the Coniston valley was held at Nibthwaite. These were steps in the direction of self-help on the part of the natives. The weaving industry began to give employment at hand-looms on the farms, and before long the business in home-spun and home-woven woollen cloth, already established at Kendal, was putting new life into the district. The rise and progress of this industry has been described by Mr. H. S. Cowper, F.S.A., in his volume on the *History of Hawkshead* (Bemrose & Sons, 1899); but there was another great industrial revolution which went on at the same time, about which little has been said, though we are now beginning to find material for a slight sketch of its origin and importance, especially in the recently published *Parish Registers of Coniston.*

This was the development of the copper mines by the enterprise of the German mining company. To Germans in previous centuries we had owed the working of the Alston mines in Cumberland, and in 1561 a company was formed to work the minerals of the kingdom under a patent from the Crown, and with the help of a German mining expert, Daniel Hechstetter, from Augsburg. He opened mines and built smelting works at Keswick in 1565, and, in spite of strong local opposition, soon made a great success. Hechstetter and his family became wealthy, and at the same time gave employment to large numbers, both of German immigrants and of natives. As most of the Germans

appear to have stayed in the country, and by intermarriage became absorbed into the local population, the money was kept in the district, and the industry once started remained a source of wealth until our own times.

In the last years of the sixteenth century some of the Germans, already for a generation domiciled at Keswick, came to open or carry on the mines at Coniston. It is admitted that there had been previous attempts to extract the copper ore, which must have been noticeable on the surface. But though the Alston mines are frequently mentioned in the Cumberland Pipe Rolls, and the iron mines of Low Furness often appear as valuable properties in documents of the Middle Ages, there does not seem to be any record of copper-mining at Coniston during that period. Indeed, a letter of 1605 (State Papers, Domestic Series) states explicitly that by the Coniston mines "we are furnished with copper, with which heretofore the kings of this realm could not be supplied but by the favour of foreign princes." The Germans appear to have found an "old mine" already at Coniston, probably worked by private enterprise and with no great results. They opened nine new workings, one of which they called by the characteristically German name of "The Three Kings," in Tilberthwaite. They carried the ore on packhorses to the Keswick smelting-house, and if the Civil Wars had not put an end to their company they had intended building a smelting-house at Coniston. Meanwhile they employed about one hundred and forty men, the principals being German experts.

Allan Nicholson, of Hawkshead Hall, who obtained the market charter for Hawkshead, and was celebrated in the verse of Richard Braithwaite ("Drunken Barnaby"), had married the sister of the director of the mines, and seems to have been of great assistance to the colony and their work. Of the Germans we have the names and the outlines of their history in the

Hawkshead and Coniston registers. They seem to have lived chiefly in Monk Coniston, that is to say, east of Yewdale beck; but, like their successors in the neighbourhood, they attended Coniston church, except for their last visit—they were buried at Hawkshead. So far from being regarded with hostility—as it is commonly said all strangers are regarded in these dales—they married into the best yeoman families, being, no doubt, well-to-do, and meaning to stay in the country of their adoption. The principal family names of these Germans at Coniston were Clocker, Colker, Moser, Godmunt, Suckmantle, Stoneparker, Ritseler, Phemcke, Planntziner, and Puthparker; at least, these are the forms into which the names were turned by the pen of the village clerk. Puthparker in a more early form was Pughbarger, probably for Puchberger; there were three Balthazars and three Symons in different generations of this family. It is probably of one of these that the well-known story is told—first by Captain Budworth in 1790 or thereabouts, and later by Dr. A. C. Gibson, the author of *Ravings and Ramblings about Coniston Old Man*—to the effect that Simon the miner found a paying vein in the crag which is called Simon Nick to this day, and the cleft he made is seen yet on the left-hand as you go up to Leverswater; but one night at the ale-house he boasted of his luck, and said the fairies, or the devil, were his partners; upon which he found no more copper, and lost his life soon after in an accident. No Englishman would have told a public-house audience that tale about the fairies—it is quite a German touch; and we have it recorded that "Symond Putpker"—Symon Puchberger—was buried "in the church" at Hawkshead on January 25th, 1640-1. The eldest Balthazar was nicknamed "Towsie," which gives us a picture of the "touzled" old German, or rather, Austrian, for Puchberg is an Austrian village not far from the great mining centre of Eisenerz, in Styria, where perhaps

the Puchbergers served their apprenticeship to the trade, already long established in the Erzberg, which was then, and still is, one of the wonders of the Alps—a mountain of solid iron ore. Planntziner may imply origin from Planitzing, near Bozen, in the Tyrol; a Steinberg is near Innsbruck; Klocker and Moser are not uncommon names in the Tyrol; and as their chief came from Augsburg, it is likely that some of the men were drawn from the old mining districts of the Eastern Alps. But it is curious to find the "Black Brothers of Styria" of Ruskin's early fairy-tale domiciled so long before him in his own township, and to think of the romantic blend of German and Anglicized Norse that peopled the dales three hundred years ago. It is to the mixture of races that much of the strong, intelligent character of the dalesfolk is owing. The character that has enabled so many of them to go out into the world and make successful careers was not formed merely by scenery and frugality.

The Civil Wars stopped the mining company, and for many years the Coniston mines lay idle. It was not until well on in the eighteenth century that the industry revived, to reach its highest point about the middle of the nineteenth, since when the output has dwindled. Meanwhile the quarrying of slate began to employ labour, and all parts of High Furness shared in the advantage. In 1689 and 1693 slaters are mentioned in the Coniston parish register, and fifty years later, as we gather from the account books of George Bownass, the Coniston blacksmith, most of the known quarries were in working—on both sides of the Tilberthwaite valley, in the Coniston copper mines valley, in the cove of Gaitswater, and on Walna-scar. The slate was sent in boats from Kirkby Quay, the boat-houses between the head of Coniston Lake and the present Waterhead Hotel, to the landing at Nibthwaite, whence it was carted to Penny Bridge, where the channel of

the Crake becomes navigable, and thence it was shipped to all parts. The industry brought considerable profit to the neighbourhood during the later years of the eighteenth century, and by 1831 the importance of this accession to the means of life is shown by the fact that in Church Coniston there were sixty-five families employed in "trades" as compared with twenty-five living by agriculture. The trades included a few spinning and carding mills, bobbin-turning, coopering, and tanning, beside copper, iron, and slate.

Little slate was exported earlier than the eighteenth century, but it was locally used for roofing long before that time. Many of the seventeenth and eighteenth century buildings were thatched, but from ruins of old houses which have been excavated and dated, we gather that slating was not uncommon, though before the eighteenth century the "riving" or splitting of the metal had not reached its more modern standard. The oldest type of High Furness house, after the round hut still surviving in the charcoal-burners' camp, was that constructed of pairs of "siles," great curved oaken beams, set on the ground or on a low wall of stone. In the fifteenth century wealthy families like the Flemings, or communities like Furness Abbey, built stone halls, such as we have noticed at Coniston and Hawkshead. Graythwaite Low Hall, the home of the Sawreys under Henry VIII., and later of the Rawlinsons, has been altered since the sixteenth century. Graythwaite High Hall, still the possession of the Sandys family, has little to show of Elizabethan character, except perhaps its plan. Esthwaite and Colton Halls, belonging to the same family, have lost all features of antiquity. The Rawlinsons' seats, Rusland Hall and Grisedale Old Hall, were somewhat later, and now are modernized. But on the southern edge of High Furness are three sites of architectural interest. Kirkby Hall, once the home of many generations of Kirkbys and now a farm, has a

massive nucleus perhaps of the fifteenth century, with irregularly planned additions of the sixteenth, and a room upstairs which was once a chapel and still shows traces of elaborate mural paintings; Ashlack Hall, near it, also a home of the Kirkbys, dates from the early seventeenth century, altered under Charles II.; and Broughton Hall, built round a pele tower, retains traces of the earthworks which once defended it, or possibly formed, at a remote period, the *borg* or fort which gave its name to the place. That this is the only pele in High Furness proves the continual peace of the district. Its troubles were internal; Scots raids and real warfare never touched it.

The fashion of building stone halls for the greater families must have set the example to the yeomen, who, during the seventeenth century, turned their sile-framed cottages into byres and barns, and built themselves solid stone dwellings. Interesting details of this type of building are given by Mr. H. S. Cowper in his *History of Hawkshead*, illustrated from the remains of a Jacobean house at Satterhow, on the left-hand as you go up from Windermere Ferry to Sawrey. The normal homestead contained on the ground floor a "house-place" and kitchen, or one room to serve both purposes, and a "bower," with oaken partitions and carved oak cupboards, built in. The upper floor was a long loft, the end of which was partitioned off as the chamber of the master and mistress; the rest of the family and the servants slept in the undivided loft, exactly as in the old-fashioned *badstofa* of Iceland. The walls were thick, and yet not so well constructed as to keep out the wind without a coating of rough-cast, so that the dwelling-house was usually white while the outbuildings were grey-walled. To some of these outbuildings there was a "pent-house," or external wooden gallery, such as may still be seen in Yewdale and Tilberthwaite. The fashion seems to have been ancient, dating from the

earliest wooden houses, of which we see the type surviving in Switzerland and in a few instances in Norway; indeed, the *svalir* or pent-house was a usual feature of the old Norse wooden hall of the Saga period, and it is the obviously convenient form of staircase for a wooden building. The projecting first-floors of Hawkshead, which still give a picturesqueness to some of its nooks, are explained by Mr. Cowper as serving to shelter the windowless shops beneath. We may call them the reduction to its lowest terms of the street arcade seen in ancient English and Continental towns.

Of church architecture the most important example is Hawkshead, which, in spite of its massive round arches, seems to be no earlier than the fifteenth century, although it was founded in the twelfth. It contains interesting effigies of the parents of Archbishop Sandys, who died 1588, and perhaps left this monument to be erected after his death, as the inscription mentions him in terms too flattering to be accepted as his own. There are also monuments to Daniel Rawlinson, son of a German mother, wine merchant of London (died 1679), who rebuilt the grammar school, and to his son Thomas, Lord Mayor of London in 1706. The ornament and lettering painted on the walls were discovered at the restoration in 1875-6, and touched up.

Coniston church is modern, and contains no antiquities except a little brass to Alice Fleming, of Coniston Hall (died 1680-1). Colton church is a characteristic local building of the sixteenth century; its pre-Reformation bell, inscribed to St. John, was perhaps brought from some other church, since the dedication of Colton is to the Holy Trinity. At Kirkby and Broughton, however, on the southern border of the district, we find churches of the twelfth century still retaining their Norman doors. The name of Kirkby (Icelandic, *Kirkju-bær*, "farm of the church") suggests that there was a church on the site at a time when Norse was still the spoken language—

that is to say, before the Norman settlement in the twelfth century, which was the real Norman Conquest of these parts. Broughton is also a very old inhabited site, though the claim made by a late vicar that some of the masonry of the church is Anglo-Saxon can hardly be supported.

The rest of the churches in High Furness are either modern in fabric or architecturally unimportant. Seathwaite before restoration was one of the cottage-like structures which satisfied the requirements of the seventeenth century; as its pulpit is said to have been put up in 1697, and the enlargement of its south side made in 1796, we get some hint as to its date. But its chief claim to notice is the fact that in the building itself, during the greater part of the eighteenth century, Robert Walker—"Wonderful" Walker as he was called—taught his school and spun his thread as he sat teaching, and, dying in 1802 at the age of 93 years, became famous through Wordsworth's sonnets on the Duddon and his appreciative memoir in the notes to the poems. Perhaps, as Dr. Gibson, the author of *Folk-Speech of Cumberland*, contended, Wordsworth idealized the thrifty peasant-priest, whose virtues were by no means unique, but for that very reason the story was worth recording. It brings vividly before us the life of quiet energy, poor but not needy, humble but not dependent, rustic but not uncultured, which was characteristic of the dales for many generations before the invasion of the modern tourist.

To "Wonderful" Walker's great satisfaction he was able to record (in a letter printed in the *Annual Register*, and quoted by Wordsworth) that all his parishioners were "sound members of the Established Church, not one dissenter of any denomination being amongst them." In this point Seathwaite differed from the rest of High Furness. The residence of George Fox, the Quaker, at Swarthmoor, near Ulverston, had its effect in attracting

Quaker Meeting House at Colthouse, Hawkshead.

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many of the High Furness folk, including some of the more important families, to the Society of Friends. In 1658, only six years after his first visit to these parts, the Quaker burying-ground at Colthouse, near Hawkshead, was used as such, though the meeting-house adjoining it was not built until near the end of the century. The Rook How or Abbot Oak meeting was established in 1725; but before this there had been a long story of struggle and persecution under Oliver Cromwell and Charles II., in which farmers, tradesfolk, and gentlefolk suffered alike, while the Kirkbys and Flemings, who endeavoured to administer the law as they found it, gained nothing from the contest but odium. The Quaker Rawlinsons, Satterthwaites, Braithwaites, and minor yeoman families survived fine and imprisonment, and "lived long in the land," while the Kirkbys died out impoverished, and it was only the great capacity and industry of Sir Daniel Fleming that saved his family from a like fate. He was one of the most distinguished of our natives in his period. Educated at Queen's College, Oxford, and Gray's Inn, he took the King's side in the Civil War, and lost a great part of his fortune under Cromwell's rule. He lived in retirement until the Restoration, improving his estates and occupied in study. He became a considerable scholar and antiquary, corresponding with learned men and interested, among other things, in Runic inscriptions. His *Survey of Cumberland* is still of value to the historian, and his account-books give us the fullest details of the country life in his time. Under Charles II. he took an active part in public business. He was knighted in 1681, and returned M.P. for Cockermouth in 1685, and he died in 1701, after removing his principal seat from Coniston to Rydal, where his family remains to this day. The volume on *The Flemings at Oxford*, edited by the Provost of Queen's, gives us a wealth of detail concerning the life of the district in Sir Daniel's time.

The Baptists in High Furness were no less flourishing than the Quakers. The ministers at first were clergymen who had been ejected by the Act of Uniformity, like Gabriel Camelford from Staveley, or men educated for the Church, like George Braithwaite, who was a Hawkshead schoolboy and an Oxford graduate, and seceded later upon conscientious objections. The first chapel was founded by the Rawlinsons and by Colonel Sawrey, of Broughton Tower, one of Cromwell's Ironsides, at Tottlebank in 1669. Other chapels were established at Sunnybank, in Torver, and at Hawkshead Hill in 1678. All these survive, but a tiny meeting-house at Aulthurstside, between Broughton and Coniston, supposed to have been built in the seventeenth century, has long since been closed. A later foundation was the chapel at St. Mary's Well, Kirkby; the chapel at Coniston is modern.

There can be no doubt that the tradition of independence, derived from the early Norse settlers, and strengthened by the infusion of German blood, had much to do with this prevalence of dissent, and that it implied a certain intellectual activity which was not always so carefully shepherded as by "Wonderful" Walker at Seathwaite. Seathwaite itself was, though remote and little heard of, by no means uncivilised. A curious award of 1681, defining the rights of the various sheep-farmers in the sequestered valley between the tarn and the chapel, and neatly engrossed on parchment, may be seen at the Coniston Museum as an evidence both of the populousness of the dale and of the law-abiding character of the inhabitants in the seventeenth century. It is unfortunate that we know so little about them at an earlier period, but they seem to have done nothing to make history. They were merely busy and contented.

Into this busy and contented region the outer world began to look about the middle of the eighteenth century, when the interest in natural scenery first awoke. The

letters to the *Annual Register* of 1754 and 1755, quoted by Wordsworth, show that "parties of pleasure" had already begun to explore the dales and to take note of the dalesfolk. Gray, in 1769, and Gilpin, in 1772, did not seem to have heard of Coniston as a place to visit in search of the picturesque; but Thomas West, the Scotch Roman-Catholic priest, who wrote *The Antiquities of Furness* in 1774, described the "romantic appearance" of Coniston village and the "odd-fashioned town" of Hawkshead; and Mrs. Radcliffe, author of *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, visited the Lakes in 1794 or earlier, and found Coniston "one of the most interesting and perhaps the most beautiful." In 1797 Turner, the landscape-painter, came on his tour through the north, and painted his first mountain picture, "Morning on Coniston Fells," from a sketch which must have been taken at the head of White Gill, above Yewdale. Before this Creighton was already the accredited guide to the nobility and gentry whose curiosity impelled them to the arduous ascent of the Old Man, and Wordsworth, a schoolboy at Hawkshead from 1778 to 1787, had written and published *The Evening Walk*, with its enthusiastic descriptions—"Blue pomp of lakes, high cliffs, and falling floods," and the Coniston quarries—"How busy all the enormous hive within . . ." High Furness had won its place in art and literature.

It was natural that attention should be called to the district, and especially to the northern end of it, as a place of resort not only to passing visitors, but to those who wished to settle among beautiful scenery. The earlier modern mansions were, however, the homes of families directly springing from the place, for in addition to the old-established Sandys and Rawlinsons, there were several who had now made money in business, some of them in local industries. William Ford, of Monk Coniston, whose executors are mentioned in 1772 as owning the coal-boat, had bought the Waterhead estate.

which went by the marriage of one of his daughters to George Knott. His son built the "Gothic" mansion, of which the grounds are said to have been laid out under Wordsworth's direction, and sold it to Mr. James Garth Marshall, M.P., of Leeds. Another daughter of William Ford married Dr. Ainslie, of Kendal and London, and brought him Grisedale Hall; and the Ainslies, connected with the iron-works of Furness, built the later hall at Grisedale. Further down the same valley Whitestock was bought in the lifetime of George Romney, the celebrated portrait painter (died 1802), by his son and biographer, who built Whitestock Hall. Belmount, at Hawkshead, was built in 1774 by Reginald Braithwaite, Vicar of Hawkshead. Old Brathay, the seat of a branch of the Braithwaites, was bought by George Law, who also bought estates in Rydal and Loughrigg at the close of the eighteenth century; he built Brathay Hall. Esthwaite Lodge, Hawkshead, was built by the Becks, originally from Westmorland, and was the home of Thomas Alcock Beck, who published the *History and Antiquities of Furness Abbey* in 1844. High House, Hawkshead, the homestead of the Swainsons, came by marriage to the Cowpers, and the existing house was built by the grandfather of Mr. H. Swainson Cowper, F.S.A., who has done so much to record and illustrate the history of his neighbourhood. All these mansions were built by local people, but not for business purposes; they meant to settle in their own county and enjoy its scenery and society.

With some of the Coniston houses the case was different; they were built or enlarged into mansions by strangers, who came to the district merely for the sake of the picturesque. Colonel George Smith settled at Townson Ground, Monk Coniston, in 1801, and after the death of his gifted and celebrated daughter, Elizabeth Smith, in 1806, he built Tent Lodge, subsequently tenanted by the Romneys, and for a time by Tennyson.

The Thwaite was built in 1821 by Mr. Binns, of Bristol, and let in 1827 to the Beever family from Manchester, whose long tenancy has left many happy recollections and added to the list of Coniston "worthies." Brantwood, a cottage built by Mr. Woodville at the end of the eighteenth century, was sold to the Copleys of Doncaster, then to the Hudsons, and after 1852 to William James Linton, the wood-engraver, poet, and Chartist, and husband of Mrs. Lynn Linton, the novelist. In 1871 he sold the cottage to John Ruskin, who enlarged it into a mansion. During the earlier half of the last century other houses were built and inhabited by new comers; and this, together with the increase of tourist traffic, turning the old inns into hotels and the farms into summer lodging-houses, has provided a new industry—a revolution in the life of the district no less than the introduction of weaving and mining was three hundred years ago.

This change was facilitated, first, by the creation of roads, and then by the addition of railways. When the earliest tourists came, they came on horseback or walking. The approach to Coniston was by the sands, and thence through Ulverston; the roads were mere tracks; wheeled carts were only used for farming purposes and for carrying slate and ore over short distances. The first mention of a chaise at Hawkshead is in 1792, and in 1819 there was only one post-chaise in the town. But by that time most of the main roads were made, except one, in great use to-day, connecting Langdale with Coniston through Yewdale—the Oxenfell road. The roads as we see them, however, have been repeatedly altered and improved since they were set down on Jonathan Otley's map of 1818. Then came the era of railways: Windermere was joined to Kendal in 1847; the Furness main line was opened in 1857, its extension to Coniston in 1859, and to Windermere Lakeside in 1869. With the railways came steamboats on the lakes. The

first on Windermere was tried in 1845, but local opposition prevented a regular service for some time. The Coniston steam "gondola" was put on the water in 1859, and still runs, supplemented in 1908 by a bigger boat. Soon after the opening of the Windermere and Kendal railway a daily coach was running in the tourist season between the Ferry and Coniston, and from that time to this the number of visitors and the importance of the interests connected with their travelling and entertainment have grown enormously, and—in spite of all that has been prophesied to the contrary—are still growing.

At the present day the residence of strangers and the tourist traffic make up a very great proportion of the business done in the district. Land which is valueless for agriculture or sport gets a fancy price as a residential property. There are few farms or even cottages which do not take lodgers in the season, and it is commonly said that the visitors pay the rent. A large and increasing number of small houses are let to townsfolk as summer residences. Shops and inns, trades connected with travel and supply, local arts and crafts, depend mainly, it may be said entirely, upon the patronage of the outer world. The old resources of weaving, milling, turning, and the like are extinct; agriculture pure and simple barely pays a living wage; mining has fallen to *nil*, and it remains to be seen whether proposals now (January, 1909) made for establishing copper-smelting and sulphuric acid works at Coniston will be feasible, and, if so, beneficial; slate-quarrying is becoming less profitable and more uncertain owing to foreign competition; but still there is general well-being and an absence of the pauperism, or occasional pauperism, which marks many parts of England. This is owing, directly or indirectly, to the charm of scenery, reinforced by literature and art, through which strangers are attracted as residents and visitors, and bring money with them. The advantage to the towns and manufacturing districts of possessing a playground so near

and so suitable is too obvious to need comment. Lancashire cannot do without the Lakes, and the Lakes cannot do without Lancashire and Yorkshire—and America, for all parts of the world contribute and share the mutual advantages.

It seems to have become an important question for the future whether the Lake District, of which High Furness is no negligible part, should not be regarded in the fullest sense as a people's park, such as it practically is while the present order of things lasts. There is a continual struggle between two aims—to develop it as a resort, and to make the most of local opportunities for manufacture. In attempts to gather up the fragments that remain of copper and slate, new mines and quarries are opened, and after conspicuously destroying the beauty of the place they are abandoned. Schemes are formed for running mills by water-power; these proving inconstant, engineering works are needed for reservoirs and water-courses, to supplement which steam is called for and chimneys built. That smoke is already a serious factor in the weather anyone can ascertain by watching from the mountain-tops how far the drift of tall chimneys on the horizon blurs the landscape. Ancient industries added a certain charm to the stillness of the dales, being on a small scale, and nature got the better of them sooner or later; but modern resources and needs are so much greater in proportion to the size of the country—and the smallness and accessibility of the scenery is one of its advantages—that a little further progress in this direction will destroy all that makes the dales worth visiting.

On the other hand, the competition for tourist patronage is almost as mischievous. Unsightly buildings and advertisements are put up; the old picturesque roads and bridges are altered into ugliness; new roads and railways are projected; new means of enticing the lower class of "trippers" are advocated; and in this direction

also a little more progress will sweep away all that attracted Turner and Wordsworth, Ruskin and Tennyson, and a host of those, known and unknown, who have found repose or inspiration in the unspoiled scenes and unambitious homes of the Lake country.

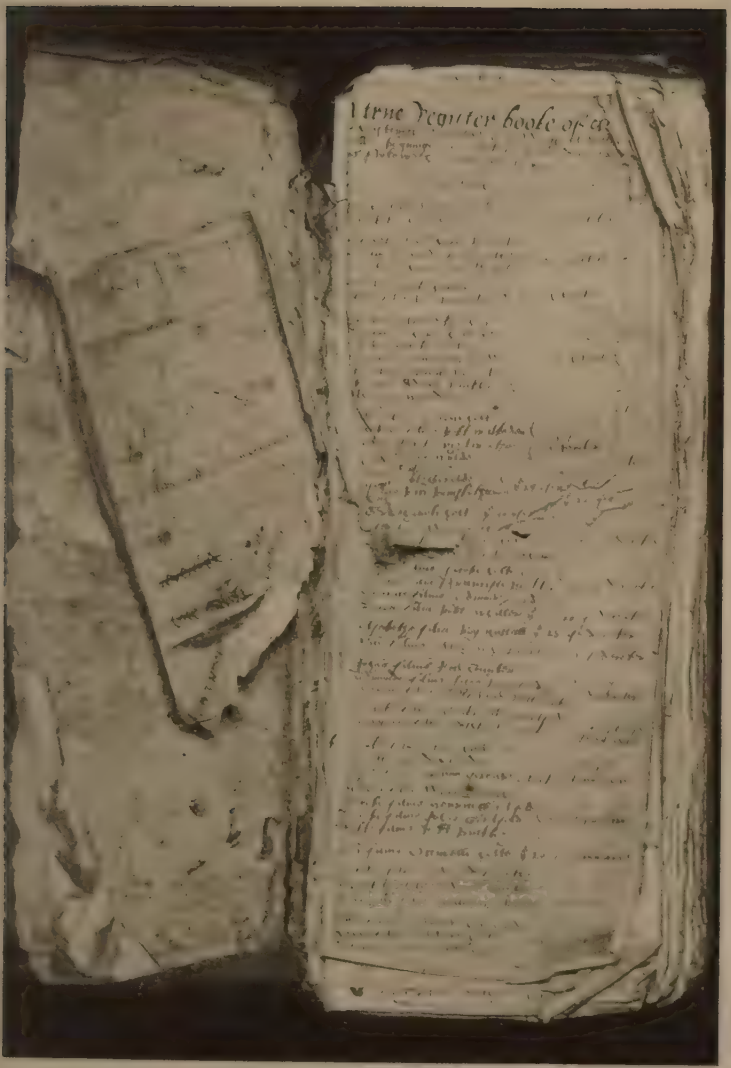
It is indeed a practical question for political economy to devise some means of putting—so to speak—this ancient treasure into a glass case as a museum specimen more valuable than any old master or hoard of prehistoric gold. Such means need not be very costly. To buy bits of land here and there does not satisfy the need; it only makes the immediate neighbourhood more desirable to building speculators, without preventing the degradation of the district as a whole. But it might be within the range of practical politics to buy up those rights which tempt owners to exploit their various advantages, and so to control the countryside that its charm of scenery and the associations of its history should be entailed to the nation so long as High Furness, with the Lake country at large, is needed as the people's park.

NOTES ON LANCASHIRE PARISH REGISTERS

By Henry Brierley

IT was once my lot to visit the vicarage of a Lancashire country parish to make an examination of its parish registers, which were fairly ancient. While immersed in these, the old housekeeper of the old bachelor vicar came into the room, and pointing to me, he said, "See Martha, this gentleman is interested in these things," and I instinctively felt that they exchanged pitying glances over one whom they regarded as little less than a harmless lunatic. Ideas such as theirs are I believe largely prevalent, and my present object is to try and persuade the general public that in parish registers generally, and particularly in those of Lancashire, much is found which is of historic, philological, and social interest. The general history of parish registers is a well-worn subject, but as there are always some to whom the information may be new, it may be well to recapitulate shortly their commencement and history. So far as is known, in pre-Reformation times there was no such thing as regularly kept records of baptisms, weddings, and burials, and it was not until September, 1538, that Thomas Cromwell issued his injunctions for the keeping of them; the order was conveyed in the following terms: "that every parson . . . should keep a register wherein he should write the day and year of every wedding, christening, and burial, and therein insert every person's name so wedded, christened, and buried." Of Lancashire parishes which complied with the order, or whose registers for 1538 are

still extant, there are only three, namely, Whalley; Whittington, near Kirkby Lonsdale; and Farnworth, near Widnes; though it is sad to contemplate that probably many of the date of 1538 have been lost, as in the case of Lancaster, where, so late as 1660, a portion of a 1538 register was extant, though now long since lost. In 1597 it was ordered that a duplicate copy of the register should be deposited annually in the registry of the bishop of the diocese—an order too often disregarded. All these earliest registers were paper ones, and as it was discovered after about sixty years that they were becoming dilapidated, an order was issued in 1603 that they should all be copied on parchment "since the time that the law was first made in that behalf, so far as the ancient books thereof can be procured," and for the most part the paper registers, unfortunately, seem to have been destroyed. Only two of the original Lancashire paper registers have ever come under my observation, namely, Rochdale and Great Harwood. I have said "unfortunately," because in the case of Great Harwood the parchment copy also exists, and a comparison of it with the original paper register proves that many important entries in the latter have not been transferred to the parchment copy. In the troublous times of the contest between Charles I. and his subjects the registers were kept in a very haphazard fashion, and it was not until the passing of the Act of August 24th, 1653, that regular registration was once more restored. It was then ordered that each parish should elect an officer called a "Parish Register," whose duty it was to register marriages, births (not baptisms), and burials. Though many of these "parish registers" seem to have been illiterate people, their entries compare most favourably in regard to fulness of description with those of their predecessors. Another troublous time for correct registration was the unsettled period immediately preceding the Restoration of Charles II. Indeed it was not



FACSIMILE OF THE FIRST PAGE OF THE ROCHDALE PARISH REGISTER.

until 1661 or 1662 that resumed accurate registration can generally be found. In 1679, in order to protect the woollen industry in England, an Act of Parliament was passed, commonly known as the "Act for burying in woollen," which shortly provided that every corpse should be shrouded in no other material than wool, under a penalty of £5. In 1694, 1758, and 1783 duties on registration were imposed, in the first instance for carrying on the war against France with vigour, and in the second instance to form a fund for the support of the Foundling Hospital.

The only other general information upon which it is necessary to dwell here is the alteration made in the keeping of the marriage registers. By Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act, 1753, an attempt was made to put an end to the irregular marriages, such as the Fleet marriages, which had then become a scandal, for by this Act it was amongst other things enjoined that not only marriages but banns of marriage should be recorded in an official register supplied with columns and blanks into which all particulars required by the Act should be inserted. It might be mentioned here that very curious errors have been promulgated as the result of the copying of the registers on to parchment in 1603. As the vicar of that period not only certified by his signature the correctness of the copy from 1538 forward, but in many cases for some years after 1603, it has been incorrectly assumed that the average tenure of incumbencies in those days was 70, 80, or even 90 years.

And now to return to the main object of this article —the Lancashire registers. Of those commencing before 1600, fifty-nine are still extant, and in addition to the three already mentioned as beginning in 1538, there are sixteen others which commence in or earlier than 1560. But it is to the registers printed by the Lancashire Parish Register Society to which I must direct special attention, through greater familiarity with them. Up to

the present time the Society has issued thirty volumes of the earliest registers, comprising twenty-eight parishes. The complete list is Bury, Burnley, Whittington, Wigan, Walton-on-the-Hill, Croston, Whalley, Didsbury, Brindle, Middleton, Ormskirk, Chipping, Eccleston, Padiham, Colne, Poulton, Cockerham, Culcheth, Upholland, Eccles, Ribchester, St. Michael's-on-Wyre, Woodplumpton, Cartmel, Coniston, Aldingham, Urswick, and Pennington. In addition to these the Society, or individual members of it, have transcripts of the earliest registers of Bispham, Blackrod, Bolton-le-Moors, Bolton-le-Sands, Broughton (near Preston), Broughton-in-Furness, Burtonwood, Churchkirk, Deane, Downham, Halton, Great Harwood, Heysham, Hindley, Horwich, Kirkham, Lancaster, Lytham, Manchester, Over Kellet, Pilling, Prescot, Preston, Radcliffe, Ringley, Stalmine, and Warton. Moreover, the earliest portions of Colton, Hawkshead, Leigh, Leyland, Liverpool, Oldham, Rochdale, Saddleworth, and Ulverston have been printed by private enterprise. Therefore it may surprise the public to learn that out of the one hundred and seven Lancashire registers which commence prior to 1700 no fewer than sixty-four are either in print or ready for the press. But to return to the main intention of this article as before proposed, and in the first instance to take, as a leading feature of it, Lancashire surnames as disclosed by the printed registers of the Lancashire Register Society. The first thing that strikes one is the overwhelming prevalence of surnames which are also place-names, and of patronymics. In all the Society's published registers the leading surname is of one or other of these classes, except in the cases of Burnley, Walton, Cockerham, and Aldingham, where the chief surnames indicate trades or occupations, namely, Smith, Mercer, and Gardiner (*bis*), Brindle, oddly enough taking its principal surname from a personal name, "Gerard." The following table will give some idea of

the principal surnames in use in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the Lancashire parishes named. The surnames are arranged in order of frequency:—

AMOUNDERNESS.

Poulton ...	Hull.
	Whiteside.
	Bamber.
	Hodgson.
St. Michael's-on-Wyre ...	Parkinson.
	Gurnall.
	Hull.
Woodplumpton	Charnley.
	Billington.

BLACKBURN HUNDRED.

Burnley ...	Smith.
	Whitaker.
	Halstead.
	Ingham.
Chipping ...	Parkinson.
	Parker.
Colne	Hartley.
	Hargreaves.
	Smith.
	Emmott.
Padiham ...	Whitaker.
	Hargreaves.
	Wilkinson.
Ribchester ...	Seed.
	Hayhurst.
	Dewhurst.
Whalley ...	Wood.
	Law.
	Ingham.

LEYLAND HUNDRED.

Brindle	Gerard.
	Catterall.
Croston ..	Wignall.
	Bannister.
	Smith.
Eccleston ...	Rigby.
	Dicconson.

LONSDALE HUNDRED, NORTH.

Aldingham ...	Gardiner.
	Fell.
	Simpson.
Cartmel ..	Barrow.
	Fell.
	Simpson.
Coniston ...	Fleming.
	Dickson.
Pennington ...	Fell.
Urswick ...	Fell.
	Gardiner.
	Inman.

LONSDALE HUNDRED, SOUTH.

Cockerham ...	Gardiner.
	Clarkson.
	Jackson.
Whittington ...	Robinson.
	North.
	Barrow.

SALFORD HUNDRED.

Bury	Kay.
	Holt.
	Greenhalgh.
	Haworth.
Didsbury ...	Chorlton.
	Barlow.
	Hulme.
Eccles	Barlow.
	Holland.
	Bradshaw.
Middleton ...	Ogden.
	Taylor.
	Fitton.

WEST DERBY HUNDRED.

Culcheth ...	Thomasson.
	Unsworth.
	Green.
	Hesford.
Ormskirk ...	Barton.
	Moorcroft.
Upholland ...	Winstanley.
	Gaskell.
	Atherton.
Walton ...	Mercer.
	Rose.
	Fazackerley.
Wigan ...	Ford.
	Laithwaite.
	Wood.
	Winstanley.

From the foregoing table it will be seen that out of eighty-two leading surnames mentioned, no fewer than fifty-eight are place-names, and of the remaining twenty-four there are sixteen patronymics or personal names, leaving only eight names of occupation, of which Gardiner, in the northern part of Lancashire, constitutes nearly half. Wigan furnishes a striking instance of the prevalence of place-names used as surnames. Out of twenty-three surnames of most frequent occurrence only five are not place-names, these taken for the most part from the names of the neighbouring townships. In eighteen of the twenty-eight registers the surname representing the parish occurs, the exceptions being Aldingham, Chipping, Cockerham, Coniston, Eccles, Ormskirk, Padiham, Urswick, Woodplumpton, and, of course, St. Michael's-on-Wyre.

It has never been noticed how generally the surname Houghton occurs in Lancashire; it will be found in every one of the Society's printed registers except Aldingham, Pennington, and Urswick. The most remarkable instances of the prevalence of a single surname in a parish are the cases of Bury and Pennington, where the whole population seems constituted of Kays and Fells respectively. Lancashire Christian names, too, present many interesting features, and an analysis of the registers of Bury, Eccles, Poulton, Ribchester, and Walton affords the following interesting results. In all of them John far surpasses all other boys' names, while Elizabeth ranks highest as a girl's name. Probably our readers may be surprised to learn that Richard is the next prevailing boy's Christian name, closely followed by Thomas, which, in the case of Eccles, exceeds Richard and even John. Next in order come James, Robert, and William, while the girls' leading Christian names are, in order after Elizabeth, Mary, Ann, Alice, Margaret, and Jane. George, as to the prevalence

of which in former times there has recently been controversy in *Notes and Queries*, is of fairly frequent occurrence in Poulton, Bury, and Eccles. Cuthbert is only found in Poulton and Walton, and Agnes hardly anywhere but in Poulton. The Society's printed registers hardly furnish so many curious Christian names as other counties, but the following are somewhat unusual: Blaze (Padiham), Unica and Scolastia (Burnley), Plato (Urswick), Mercury (Cockerham), Hercules (Padiham), Cassandra (Eccleston), Parthania (Whittington), and Timore (Wigan). Christian names which were very common in the registers, but now almost obsolete, are Imin, Ottewell, Gawin, Alison, Grizell, Ethelred, and it is surprising to find Victoria as early as 1617 in the Walton register. What the modern equivalents of "Habernemus" and "Orgeyn" are (both found in Padiham) we leave our readers to speculate.

It was mentioned near the beginning of this article that the registers often furnish clues to the meanings of place-names. Perhaps one of the most striking instances of this is furnished in the place-name Abram, the scene of the terrible colliery disaster of 1908. In the Wigan register the township is referred to as "Aburgham," and the place-name, instead of having any reference to the patriarch of Scripture, simply means that it was the "ham" or home of "Adburgh," or, in its oldest form, "Eadburgh," a common female personal name in Saxon times. The Bury registers also furnish the clue to the meaning of the modern name "Heady Hill," which in the earliest volume of *Bury* is found as "Heathy Hill," and Rainshore is spelt "Ravenshore." Many glimpses of the trades practised in the various parishes are furnished by the registers; in Wigan we find "panner" and "pewterer," in Walton "spurrier," in Liverpool "dish-thrower," in Ormskirk "glasseman" (no doubt the occupation of the Frenchman working at Bycarstaff), in Eccleston "dryster," in Poulton and Cockerham

"saltweller," in Croston "salter," "spooner," "buttoner," and "glover," in Upholland "glover," "potter," in Eccles "ymbroderer," in St. Michael's "goldsmith," in Ribchester "boatman," "glover," and "siever," in Cartmel "hammerman," "paperman," and "woodcutter," and in Coniston "hammerman." Of these trades, it is feared that all but the occupations of "boatman" for the ferry at Ribchester, and the "woodcutters" of the Cartmel district, who still supply the wood for the charcoal burning, have disappeared. The registers are wonderfully rich in trade-names which have become obsolete or obsolescent; such are "crateman," "jersey-comber," "courser" (a jobber, especially a horse-jobber), "dauber" (plasterer), "mugman," "badger" (corn dealer), "bouker" (a bleacher), "joint-maker" (=hingeman), "shearman" (a branch of the woollen industry), "hamber-maker" (=hammer-maker, or more probably collar-maker for horses), "corviser" (a shoemaker), "fletcher" (=arrow-maker), "pedder" (the true form of "pedler"), "thrower" (twister), "blowmer" (a worker in iron smelting by charcoal), "carter" (the guide over the Morecambe sands), "herd" (=shepherd), and "fusterer" (=saddletree maker). Lancashire, too, seems to have been famous of old for its musical tendencies, for not only do we find a "piper" mentioned in almost every register—in Poulton described as a "droner"—but Chipping, in addition, boasted a "trumpeter," Eccleston a "blind harper," Middleton a "drummer," Croston, Cockerham, and Cartmel a "fiddler," Culcheth a "bagpipe player," and Woodplumpton a "musicus." Many good old English words, too, which are now either obsolete or only dialectic, or used in a different sense, are found; to the former class belong "mouldwarp" (the modern mole), the coins "noble" and "angel," "tabled" (meaning "lodged"), "serous" (meaning "of ripe years"), "steele" (for "stile"), "heble" (signifying the wooden handrail to a plank bridge), "spicer" (=a "grocer"), "twindles" (=twins), "peece"

(used for a gun), "breethed" (signifying "birth"), and "gree" (meaning the chancel step, occurring very frequently in the Cartmel register); to the latter class belong the words "famous" (signifying "infamous"), "painful" (in the phrase "painful preacher," meaning "painstaking"), "spild" (meaning "killed," used in the deaths of suicides), "computed" and "imputed," both signifying "reputed."

Many tragedies are revealed by the registers, the most striking perhaps being the one mentioned in Cartmel, where, in 1576, the execution of a murderer is recorded in the following terms:—

> Richard Taylor was buried whoe suffered the same daye at Blacragge Bridge end for murthering wilfullye Richard Kilner of Witherslacke.

Cartmel also furnishes a lamentable death-roll of drowning on the treacherous sands of Morecambe Bay, which not even the care of the "carter" (*i.e.*, the guide over the sands)—also referred to in the same register—could obviate. Middleton gives an instance of death from foul gas in a pump pit; Eccles of a death in a "canell pitt," and of death from fire-arms, expressed as "killed with a peece," while Whalley reminds us of the times when the Lancashire bowmen were famous, in its entry of a man "killed by an arrow."

The ravages of plague are also only too apparent, as in Whittington in 1616, where occurs this entry:—

> From 19th December, 1616, unto 4th November, 1617, it pleased God to visit Whittington with a contagious sickness, within which time there was sicke in this parish about two hundred, in which time there deceased [here follow thirty names, the average mortality for a year being under ten]

while in 1623, in Middleton, the number of burials was four times as many as the average.

Many curious customs of the Church, all now obsolete, are referred to in the registers. In Whittington we read of the most barefaced bidding for pews; Wigan and other

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registers record the burial of "Chrisom" children, *i.e.*, children who died within one month of their baptism and were buried in their christening robe; Bury and other registers mention the payment of "mortuaries"—a customary gift formerly claimed by the incumbent of the parish from the estate of a deceased parishioner (*N.E.D.*).

In Walton, Ormskirk, and elsewhere we read of "recusants"; in Walton it is expressly stated that the recusant was buried at "noonday," and not in the contemptuous manner usually adopted; while in Ormskirk a marginal note opposite the burial entry of Cathereyne Jumpe says, "Note y^{t} shee was a Recusant and buried without consent of ye vicar."

Whalley supplies the only instance of the endowment of a bride in church; in Eccleston (1684 and 1685) we find instances of touching children for the King's evil, and in Bury (about 1680) is given a form of certificate that an applicant for the royal touch had not previously been touched.

From the Cockerham register we learn the exact date when the Directory superseded there the Book of Common Prayer. In St. Michael's register are carefully set out the names of those who made affidavit as to the burial of corpses in woollen. Woodplumpton speaks of a "hired churchwarden," and Eccleston of the "whipper" (no doubt a dog-whipper). Burnley, Whalley, and Ormskirk carry us back to pre-Reformation times in their references to "chantry priest" and "frater loci" and "prior of Burscough." Ofttimes also the registers are made the vehicle for recording the personal predilections of the writer. In Bury Mr. William Rawstron is described as "a wrong priest," Padiham speaks of a churchwarden as "a rascal from Pendle," and Ribchester has the following quaint paragraph to prove that human gratitude is at times misplaced:—

I George Ogden vicar of Ribchester in 1682 built ye vicarage hous there at my own charg except Three pounds odd shillings were contributed towards the same by some well affected persons upon this

account Mr. Abraham Townley of Dutton gave twenty shillings But since I have writ thus far I have found it out for a certain truth yt ye said Inhabitants of Dutton have for several years together both to ye King and poor overrated me in many pounds before I discovered it I have therefore no reason to thank them for ye above kindness Aug. ye 2, 1701.

The Bury registrar contemptuously joins a couple in his marriage register with the added sneer, "maried I know not wheare."

On the other hand, we find a favourable criticism in Whalley, where the vicar is described in Latin as an "egregious predicator," or, as we should say, "a preacher out of the common."

Not only does Didsbury testify to the presence of a "gypsy" or "the Egiptian" in those far-off days, but an entry in its registers (1665) will appeal to many thousands of Lancashire football enthusiasts—"killed with a fall at foot-bawle." Lunacy, too, was unhappily prevalent, as no fewer than six of the registers have allusions to "northerin," the old word for lunatic folk, or "distracted women," or "Bedlamers." References to the unhappy war between Charles I. and his subjects are furnished in Bury, where, in 1644, "seven strange soldiers were buried in one week in May, and two strange soldiers, both cavaliers, in the month after"; and Cockerham, where, "because of the armie," there were no entries in the register in August, 1649; and in Eccleston we read, "there is many that is unregistered by reason of Prince Rupert coming into Lancashire and this booke being hid for fear of the enemie taking it." And there are references to the 1745 rebellion in Didsbury, "when ye rebels past." The scandalous way in which burials were permitted in the Church is most apparent in Ormskirk, where there were two thousand four hundred and forty-two intramural burials in sixty-nine years, and the absence of care of the churchyard is shown by the admission in the Burnley registers that swine were rooting up the corpses.

Many quaint and interesting entries, too, having no reference to the main purpose for which the registers exist, are found. We note there was a clock at Whittington church in 1654; the burial of a Brindle rector is spoken of in a Latin phrase which may be freely translated, "he flitted from this light into the Church." From the following entry in Chipping register we note that bad weather prevailed in 1600:—

between Pendle and Pirelock two knowne hills there was not three fare dayes in all in sixe weeks last before the sixt of Octobr above said and sixe weeks before to the great losse of muche corne; being great showe [of corn] on the ground.

Middleton furnishes perhaps the most complete list of collections of briefs of any register in the country, no fewer than six hundred and ninety-six being recorded. The clerk of Urswick grimly records in Latin that "the Parish Clerk claps his hands on hearing of deaths," doubtless with an eye to his fees. In the same register a more human reference is to the care of the beacon and its tar barrel. Coniston gives the rota of those serving the office of constable, and it may here be remarked that the register shows how many foreigners were resident in Coniston parish, no doubt as miners, such names as Balthazar, Puthparker, and Cilizzin being found therein.

Some of the registers abound in nicknames, and especially Burnley and Poulton. Many of these refer to physical peculiarities, as "Black Widow," "Longhead" (Burnley), "Barehead," "Ducklegs," "Padfoot" (Chipping), "Greatleg," "Shortarm," "Sweetlipps" (Cockerham), "Bluecap" (Upholland), "Blewhood" (Poulton), "Blind Dick" and "Halt Ric" (Cartmel). Epithets implying the presence or absence of some mental or intellectual or ethical quality are "Blockhead" and "Dandy" (Cockerham), "Teltruthe" (Poulton), "Trueheart" (Croston), "Dunce" and "False" (Cockerham), "Luck" (Bury), "Waystrell" (Woodplumpton); while "Buttermilk," "Potball" (Burnley), "Pie John," "Pieman," "Pitcher"

(Poulton), "Crust" (Cockerham), and "Jugge" (Bury), seem to imply some gastronomic tendencies. But "Twopence" (Burnley), "Cockedillie" (Cockerham), "Spavin" and "Tattles" (Bury) are somewhat cryptic, though "Doll Drinkwater" may have been a member of the Blue Ribbon Army of the period. The registers, too, abound in puzzling entries which furnish ample food for speculation as to their meaning, such as "Castell man" in Eccleston, "Martyrus" in Colne, "Ancient Britoner" in Culcheth, and, *par excellence*, the amazing lines found on page 62 of the printed copy of Urswick register.

It would take too much space to enumerate all the vagaries of spelling found in the registers, and few would recognize the surname of the learned president of the Lancashire Parish Register Society under the form "Physic," nor would any but Lancashire men detect under the spelling "Boe" the well-known name "Ball." The variant spellings of surnames are numerous, and it frequently happens that the same surname is spelled in two different ways in the same entry. A striking example of variety of spelling is found in the Bury surname Greenhalgh, which occurs in forty-five different forms.

I trust that this trifling article may convince the reader that parish registers are no mere dry lists of names, but form an important link in supplying materials for the history of Lancashire.

The *facsimile* of a page of the Rochdale register bears witness to the industry of Lieut.-Colonel Fishwick, the transcriber and editor of the earliest volumes of Rochdale.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE PRESTON GILD

By Lieutenant-Colonel Fishwick, F.S.A.

THE remote antiquity and origin of gilds it will not be necessary in this volume to consider, although the subject in itself is an extremely interesting one.

Of Anglo-Saxon gilds we have examples in the gilds of London, Canterbury, Winchester, Exeter, Dover, and Woodbury, several of which are believed to have been merchant gilds. In Edgar's *Ecclesiastical Law* (A.D. 959-975) gilds are mentioned as then being common. Domesday Book mentions two gilds in Canterbury—one of burgesses and one of the clergy; also a Gild-Hall in Dover. The word "gild" is of Saxon origin, meaning a rateable payment.

Dr. Bosworth's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* gives the verb "gyldan, gildan, geldan," to pay; and we have in Domesday Book the compound word, "dane-geld." The objects of the old English gilds were not always the same. Orey's Gild, at Canterbury, was mainly to find support and nursing of infirm gild-brothers, and for burial on their decease—in fact, a kind of sick and burial society.

The Exeter Gild was on the same lines as the one at Canterbury, and its statutes provided that three times a year its members should meet to worship together for the well-being of their brethren, living and dead. At Cambridge, whilst the religious element was retained, other regulations provided protection to the members

against criminals and misfortune brought about by their own action. Religious or social gilds formed another class.

It is also highly probable that craft gilds were not unknown to the Anglo-Saxons, but the Gilda-Mercatoria, or Merchant Gild, owes its origin in England to the altered condition of the people after the years of oppression which followed the Conquest. It was then that the small village communities were formed, which in many cases became towns or boroughs, in which the traders found it necessary to protect their interests from the outsiders, which they did in many cases by obtaining a grant to establish a Gild-Merchant, which should include in its membership all the burgesses who were tradesmen; and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries these gilds were found in most of the large towns in the country. Dr. Gross, writing on this subject, says:

> There are in history certain phenomena which appear in certain points, at which many other institutions intersect in their manifold development. Such a phenomenon is the Gilda-Mercatoria, in whose history not only the development of gilds but those of trade and industry, the rise of municipality, the formation of the ideas of the Corporation and citizenship, as well as many other weighty questions, are interwoven in the closest degree.

Preston was not the only Lancashire town which obtained the privilege appertaining to the Gild-Merchant. Wigan had its grant in 1246, but at Lancaster, although its gilds were protected by the charter of John, Earl of Moreton, in 1193, it was not until the time of Edward III. (1337) that permission was given "to hold there a certain Gild-Merchant, with all things pertaining to that gild, for ever"; but we find no evidence to prove that in either of these places a Gild-Merchant was held. Of all the old English Gild-Merchants, Preston is the only one surviving.

The author of *Two Thousand Years of Gild Life* says that

> when we come to examine carefully the *Gild* as it is now held in the town [Preston] every twentieth year, and the documents which relate to

it, we shall at once discover a peculiarity. . . . The name has really a different meaning from what it had at Beverley and Winchester. It is here not properly a society: it is a celebration or meeting which takes place at certain recurring periods.

This is no doubt true, but it is not simply a meeting to celebrate a past event, but a gathering together of the freemen of the borough, when not only are they reminded of the powers and privilege which they have so long enjoyed, but also add fresh burgesses to the existing list, and perform other functions conducive to the prosperity and well-being of their ancient town.

Henry II., by charter dated 1173, made Newcastle-on-Tyne into a free town, with the right to have a *Gilda-Mercatoria*, and to enjoy all the liberties and free customs to such a gild in any way belonging, and to pass through his dominions with their merchandise, buying, selling, and trafficking well and in peace, freely, justly, and honourably. Shortly before Michaelmas, 1179, "the men of Preston" paid into the treasury twenty-five marks as an instalment towards the one hundred marks which was the price they had to pay for a charter to enable them to enjoy the privileges which the King had given to Newcastle-on-Tyne. The balance was subsequently paid, and King John, 10th October, 1199, confirmed the charter which Henry II. had granted to Preston, and, at the same time, conferred upon the town the right to hold each year two free fairs, one to last eight days and the other three.

There is in the archives of Preston an ancient manuscript, endorsed, "The Liberties of Preston," which is known as the Custumal or Ordinances of the Preston Gild. It is without date, written on paper, and in a very dilapidated condition. It is evidently a transcript of a very much earlier document. It is written in much abbreviated Latin. A fac-simile of it will be found in the writer's *History of the Parish of Preston*.

This custumal shows in a very clear manner the rules by which the municipal work under the gild was regulated, and furnishes many details of town life in the time of Henry II., or even earlier.

The concluding sentence of this document has led to much theorising as to its exact meaning. The words are translated as: "This is the law of Preston in Amoundernesse, which they have from the Breton law (*quam habent de legi bretonia*)."

The writer of an article in the *English Historical Review* (Miss Bateman) appears to offer the most plausible solution in suggesting that in these ancient regulations we find "a reference to the laws of Breteuil, which is probably traced to Roger de Poitevin, so called from his marriage with a Poitevin wife, which made him master of large Poitevin estates. Breteuil's primitive form of name was Britogilum, 'the settlement of the Breton.'"

Jacob's *Law Dictionary* defines the Breton law as the law of the Marches, which is a term applied to the border-lands between Scotland and England and England and Wales; and it is an undoubted fact that the wife of Roger de Poictou held in her own right the country of La Marche, in France, and her husband became Count of La Marche, and may have given the name to portions of his vast possessions in this country; and the law of Breteuil, the Breton law, and the law of the Marches may be one and the same.

Breteuil first appears in history when William, Duke of Normandy, built a castle there, and put it in the hands of his cousin, William Fitzosbern. On his death in 1071 part of his estates went to his younger son, Roger, called of Breteuil, and the earldom of Hereford and the English estates. Subsequently Breteuil went to the Earl of Leicester, until, in 1204, Amicia, wife of Simon de Montford, one of the Leicester heiresses (with her sister's consent), parted with it to King Philip Augustus.

Many of these early gilds exhibited little sympathy with the poor craftsman, the full privilege being conferred only on merchants, tradesmen, and holders of burgesses, to whom many great advantages were given. For some one hundred and fifty years after the good people of Preston obtained their right to hold a gild, we have no direct evidence as to how or when the meetings were held, nor of the ceremonies which were observed; but we have occasional records which leave no doubt but that the powers given to them had been exercised, and in one case at least they appear to have exceeded their rights, as in the time of Henry III. the borough was fined £3 6s. 8d. for, without warrant, putting a man to the water ordeal; and in a charter without date, but executed between 1230 and 1255, we find lands in Preston granted "with the common assent of the whole town, the burgesses confirming the same by affixing the common seal of the town."

The first Gild (or Guild) Court of which particulars have been preserved was held on the 27th June, 1328, Aubrey, son of Robert, being the Mayor.

According to Kuerden, in 1328 it was declared lawful for the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses, with the whole commonalty of the town, to set a Gild-Merchant at every twenty years' end, or earlier if required. The same writer gives the order of a precedent gild at some length, and they appear to have contained several regulations not mentioned in the custumal. Every potter and panner, if he puts up a booth on the pavement, pays a toll of 20d., every pewterer 10d., a bow-maker 10d., a saddler 10d., a cutler 10d., and a packer 4d.; no burgess is allowed to buy nor "sell cante trippys of schepe" (sell a flock of sheep by auction); no scabbed horses to be put in the fields, and if found they are to be burnt.

Nearly seventy years elapse before we have any other record of the gild, but the roll of the one held

Preston Corporation Seal, a.d. 1459.

31st May, 1397, is still preserved amongst the archives of the Corporation. From this roll we get a clear idea as to the main objects of the meetings of the gild at this date. One of the primary duties then imposed on the commonalty was to make out a new list of burgesses, and to establish the same in substitution of the old one (this list included the names of all who had been admitted as freemen since the previous gild), and to admit the sons of freemen who had been born in the interval, and now attended the court and paid the customary fine.

The sons of freemen, although quite infants, were often entered by the fathers, and were required to take the prescribed oath when they became of age. Another duty of the gild was to establish new or alter the old statutes and regulations for conducting the business of the borough. Some of the newly-admitted freemen obtained their freedom by having served an apprenticeship to one of the tradesmen of the town. Besides the inhabitants of the town, there were admitted certain gentlemen from the surrounding district as "foreign burgesses" on payment of a fine, and a few people of distinction were admitted on the nomination of the mayor (at a later period the number thus admitted was limited to three).

The gild of 1397 was presided over by William de Egham, the mayor, whose father, not being of the gild, was admitted on the payment of a fine of 40s. There are over a hundred names in the list of those whose fathers were already "of the gild," and rather more than that number of burgesses who, because their fathers were not on the old list, were admitted by fine.

The next celebration of which any record has been preserved was in 1415, and after that there is no evidence of the gild having been held until 1459, when to the roll of freemen the seal of the Corporation was affixed.

In this seal it will be noticed that the capital initial letter "P" appears three times, which refutes the popular idea that "P.P." on the modern seals stands for *Princeps Pacis*. The letter originally stood simply for Preston, and was merely repeated for ornamentation.

The later celebrations of the Preston Guilds (as they are now called) have been many times published, and need not be here repeated.

HEYSHAM

By E. M. Grafton

NO one interested in the subject can fail to be struck by the remarkable remains of stonework and crosses at Winwick, Whalley, Lancaster, Heysham, and Halton, to quote the best known groups in Lancashire.

We will take Heysham as a special type, in some points unique. The village is in two parts—Upper or Higher Heysham, and Lower, half a mile away by church and sea, at the mouth of Morecambe Bay, and about six miles from Lancaster by road—on the peninsula running down towards the mouth of the Lune on the road to Middleton, Overton, and Sunderland, on the north bank of the river.

All that is known of the parish, manor, and village ought to be recorded; its fair days of solitary beauty—out of the world—are over, and in the grip of the Midland Railway and harbour it is modernized and vulgarized beyond belief. To those who remember it thirty years ago, accessible by no better road than a rough track along the shore by the village, frequently washed away at spring tides—the little grey church under the hill, set in a green group of wind-blown trees; the tiny still older chapel above, the fine turf round its walls, grey rock cropping through, on the windy little headland, where local legend says St. Patrick landed once, in long ago forgotten days; the old thick-walled cottages with labels over door and windows, and stone flags for roofing, were, till lately, unspoiled by the horrid little red brick houses and shops which have

engulfed them now; and few persons without local or historical knowledge had ever heard of the place and its treasures.

Old maps, history, and legend tell us of the forest-land which stretched over Lonsdale North and South of the Sands, through the Middle Ages, with only a few lonely farms and hamlets on the hills, or in wood clearings, and on the shore. Remains of peat mosses, marking the forests of the later Stone Age, still yield their story in stumps and limbs of great trees and half-fossilized antlers. On the hog-backed stone in the churchyard the carved deer-antlers are of the reindeer type, pointing, if not to its contemporary existence, yet to the lingering remembrance of a familiar form.

The village has two holy wells, but the dedications are lost. One, outside the churchyard gate, had, within living recollection, an arched head, full of long, slender hart's-tongue ferns, hanging down to the clear, deep water, but the walling on the bank above gave way and fell in, and the carved stones have disappeared. The other well, the best spring in the lower village, was always known as "the Sainty Well"; it lies off the road up a narrow path, or "pad-gate," to use the local dialect word. In the upper village there are fragments of early buildings, very thick walling of rubble and faced stones. These are in a little lane off the main road, by two cottages called "The Fold," behind a large barn, full of courses of fine old solid masonry. The place used to be called "Lord Montagu's Bathing House," not improbably a trace of Monteagle property, as the Lord Monteagle of Flodden fame held land in Halton and Heysham, and in one of the old-fashioned gazetteer-histories of Lancashire it is stated that the family possessed a "Stanley Chapel" in the upper village—a doubtful statement for which no justification is accessible, though the links of name and land have some possible truth.

St. Peter's Church, Heysham.

Before the coming of the railway and destruction of the natural coast line by the great harbour, the rocks and shore between the southern end of the parish and the church village were a charming bit of country—tiny bay after bay, with spits of rock and little headlands between, where tufts of *asplenium marinum* were to be found, with many salt-loving plants—all gone now. Up on the headland above the church the outlook is beautiful all round—St. Patrick's Skeir and Thresha rocks; below, the shining golden sands of Morecambe Bay, loved by Cox and Turner.

The church, dedicated to St. Peter, lies on the outer edge of the village, close to the sea; its churchyard is in two divisions, the lower—its main length north and south—had, till recently, in ancient custom, only a narrow strip on the northern side, but the little field between it and the sea has lately been added, and in taking down the dividing wall and levelling the slope, several more ancient carved stones were found, which will be described later. On the west a bank of rock rises into the little hill on which St. Patrick's Chapel stands, with worn steps and zigzag pathway, trodden by the pilgrims of centuries, cut in the living rock, in which, at top, the tiny chapel is founded. The headland on which it stands falls forty to fifty feet towards the sea on one side; below, on the south-west, stretches a wide, green field, called "The Barrows," marking an early burial-place. Before giving the history enshrined in records and charters, architecture and archæology, let us note the legends of the place. The ancient dedication to St. Patrick is remarkable, as in all England there are only seven ancient churches so dedicated, of which five are in North Lancashire. The extreme age of this tiny chapel cannot be disputed, but parts of the other church are probably of parallel date, and the old legends of the place tell of a third church on a spot now out at sea, below the hill—if true, a little group

of three, like the Irish sacred sites. Tradition says the saint landed here after his voyage from Ireland; whether from the first, so celebrated in all histories, or a later one, we have no facts to guide us. We are well aware that the almost universally accepted view of his travels, as related in his *Confessions*, points to Gaul and a storm-driven voyage from Western Ireland to Brittany. It may be so. Nevertheless, a large grain of truth usually lies at the bottom of a continuous tradition, supported by strong points of evidence in place-names and surroundings, combined with some remarkable record proof. The churchyard holds a monumental slab with an Irish harp upon it, broad and short, not the usual narrow type of Wales; the great hog-backed stone with its sculptures; beautiful portions of a cross; burial stones of very early date, probably from the seventh or eighth century, others undateable, as no other examples are known; pre-Norman, Norman, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth century slabs. Why such a wealth of evidence of continuous history from the earliest times, of a specially sacred and venerable site in an out-of-the-world, obscure hamlet, unless facts and truth underlie its story? In Kuerden's manuscript *History of Lancashire*, reference is made to a charter granting "an Hospitium for the use of pilgrims resorting to the chapel of St. Nicholas in St. Mary's Church in Lancaster," as well as dues paid "to St. Patrick's Chapel at Heysham." Where the hospice was is not stated, probably in Lancaster. Dr. Kuerden, writing about 1600—whose valuable collections of material for history are partly in the Chetham Library in Manchester, partly in the Heralds' College in London—conjectures that the chapel was unnoticed amongst the dissolved chantries from being entirely supported by the oblations of pilgrims, and, therefore, presenting no object to the commissioners of survey.

A grant of land, of which the deed is amongst the Duchy of Lancaster Records (1274-1286), was held by the tenure of one arrow rendered yearly on St. Patrick's Day, and the long tongue of low, jagged rock stretching out into the bay below the church bears the name of St. Patrick's Skeir—*i.e.*, the sharp-edged or divided rock —in Norse or Icelandic, the name linking the tongue of the sea-kings to the ancient legend of the saint's shipwreck under the lonely little headland.

Some seven miles from Heysham, St. Patrick's Well flows in a small pool, with broken bounding walls, in a lonely field near Slyne, its waters still used and believed in for affections of the eye.

Kirkpatrick, a few miles north on the Lancashire and Westmorland border, St. Patrick's Well on Ullswater, and place-names in Cumberland and Southern Scotland trace his journey to Kilpatrick and Dumbarton.

Illustrations of the church and its wonderful monumental surroundings will make the following description clear. As has been said before, the original foundations of the parish church of St. Peter go back to a very early date; its plan and features of the architecture, taken in conjunction with the same points in St. Patrick's Chapel, the sculptures in the churchyard, and weathered remains of others surrounding the unique rock-burials on the face of the cliff above, certainly point to no later time than the seventh or eighth century. The interlaced work is of the best period—flowing, but restrained in geometric proportion, unlike the coarser, uneven work of 800 or 900. The panels of the cross have a look of Ravenna, San Abbondio at Como, or San Clemente in Rome. Parts of the western end of the church have masonry of rude axe-hewn stone, wide-jointed, with almost imperishable mortar. A small doorway with single stone arched heading, on long and short angle-stones, is in its place; another, formerly in the north wall, was, unfortunately, removed and rebuilt on the

south-west side of the churchyard, with other old walling, fifty years ago. The low western doorway at one time opened into the tower, whose foundations have been traced under the turf. When this was pulled down it has been impossible to find out, but the fine peal of bells at Hornby is always said to have been removed from Heysham "in ancient times," and Hornby church was built by Lord Stanley as a thankoffering for his safety in victory at Flodden Field. The plan of the first early church would be that of the present nave from the western wall with the ancient blocked-in doorway to the chancel arch and screen, where probably, judging from the few English remains of churches of that date, would be a screen wall with a small archway and arcading on each side, opening into an apse, or square-ended presbytery. The massive chancel arch is without moulding or ornament, except cable-twisted capitals or impost mouldings, from which the arch springs. There are no pillars or piers distinct from the wall. These great stones are of an early type, probably belonging to the oldest part of the building, and the cable ornament is the same as on one of the stones found in the new part of the churchyard. What is now the south aisle would be the next addition some centuries later, when the southern nave wall was cut through in a curious rough way, leaving uneven masses of stone with arches and pillars supporting the roof instead. The windows in the outer wall show the transitional forms of round-headed Norman, alternating with small cusped trefoil lights. Later than this the small chancel was built to replace the still smaller early eastern end, a guide to its date being given by the unglazed window, formerly in an outer wall, now opening into a modern continuation of the south aisle, its tracery being more Flamboyant than Decorated. It has been pointed out by a good authority[1] on church architecture that the south aisle

1 The late Mr. Micklethwaite.

and chancel arch were probably rebuilt between 1400 and 1500, judging from mouldings and slight indications of Perpendicular work. If so, much of the rough-hewn stone and original type of work has been used and followed again. There is no masonry or stonework of any later date, except the quite modern additions of the northern aisle and the tracery of both east and west windows, altered and inserted in 1864. Inside the church there are fragments of good wood-carving, probably of Decorated work, used again in the modern screen. There is no old glass. A very fine monumental slab (see illustration), now placed upright at the west end of the north aisle, is of good Decorated thirteenth century work, and the beautiful floriated cross, springing from pierced Calvary steps, has head and arms terminating in foliations, groups of branches, and leaves, in well-balanced design. Some rough stone slabs on the south wall show the sequence of local history, with dates of seventeenth century rectors of the parish. These, with a good many small square stones in the churchyard, are rudely cut and lettered, as is common in the North at that date. Another, in the eastern chancel wall, is curious as belonging to William Ward, the "Painful Pastor of his flock," according to the Oliverian Survey of Parishes under the Commonwealth.

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A stone let into the north wall has an inscription referring to the rebuilding of some part of the chancel in 1737, by the Rev. Thomas Clarkson, Rector of Heysham and Vicar of Chipping, notable for its reference to an old house in the village, once the ancient rectory: "The Greese in this town," a long, low building, reached from the lower road by steep stone steps, from which it takes its name. The derivation of "greese," from gradus, has parallels in the use of the word in an early New Testament translation, where it is found in Acts xx. 40, "Paul stood on the Greese and beckoned with his hand unto the people," and in some Lancashire deeds of the same date, reference is made to the "Turn Greese," the winding stone stair of Eccles church tower.

Now let us examine the wonderful series of rock-cut tombs, sepulchral slabs, the great hog-backed stone, and beautiful interlaced and panel work on the sculptured cross shaft, all surrounding the two churches, and it will be seen there are few places with so many examples, or of such early art, or varied beauty. On the left side of the churchyard path, near the gate, is a portion of the shaft of a cross, the four faces of which are illustrated here. There are many other examples of similar design and sculpture in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Scandinavia, as also in Italy and other parts of the Continent, some as late as the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but the finer work of this, with some other English crosses, probably dates to between 700 and 800. Dr. Browne, Bishop of Bristol, one of the first living authorities on the sculpture and architecture of this period, refers to this cross shaft as "very curious," and speaks of the singular carving of probably an early church on the north face with little crosses springing from the point and eaves of the gable roof; three windows in the upper part and four below, on each side of a door, or opening, filled by a figure of some saint in swaddling, or grave-clothes, as we find represented

Heysham Cross.

both in English carving and in mosaics of the same period in Italy. On the southern face is one large figure, whether of the Blessed Virgin and Child, or of some saint connected with the history of the church, it is hard to say. The beautiful twisted pattern of the east and west faces, with its shoots, or buds, or apples, between each curving spiral, is well known in early Christian art. It is found again on St. Wilfrid's Cross, at Halton, in the Lune valley, on several of the series of crosses recently discovered in building the newly added chapel to St. Mary's in Lancaster, at Eyam in Derbyshire, and elsewhere. The serpent twisted below is thought to represent the ancient Norse legend of Yggdrasil, the sacred ash-tree, guarded by its snake, or dragon, frequently used by early Christian teachers to illustrate the story of Paradise—the Serpent and the Tree of Life. On the eastern face the triquetra, or three-looped knot, believed to be an ancient emblem of the Holy Trinity, is seen below, though it is only fair to say that this identification has been disputed of late by Mr. Romilly Allen and others. Specialists in the art and symbolism of the earlier pre-Norman centuries see in the subjects of these and similar sculptured stones the overlap and co-existing beliefs of the heathen and Christian northern English; the sacred ash-tree of Scandinavian myth, and its counterpart in the Tree of Paradise, whose wood formed the rood in Beofulf's saga, with the serpent at its foot, as the dragon guarded the ash's treasure in the Norsemen's legend. Every link in the long chain of story belonging to the sacred wood of the Cross is most interesting and suggestive. The two following are from the "Legenda Aurea" quoted by Didron in his *Christian Iconography*, and from a note in Curzon's *Monasteries of the Levant*:—

After the death of Adam, Seth planted a shoot, or, as another version has it, a seed, from the Tree of Life in Paradise which grew into the tree of the Cross.

As will be seen, this connects itself with the legends shown in carving on the great hog-backed stone.

In the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus it is related how the tree grew on Mount Lebanon, and Solomon, on hearing a prophecy that the Saviour of the world would be hanged on that tree, when the kingdoms of the Jews should cease, commanded it to be cut down and buried in Jerusalem, where the Pool of Bethesda was dug, and the angel in charge of the mysterious tree troubled the water at certain seasons, when those who first dipped into it were cured of their diseases. . . .

At the time of the Passion of the Saviour, the wood floated on the surface of the water, and was taken to form the upright beam of the Cross—being of cedar wood; the cross-beam being made of cypress; the piece on which the Feet rested, palm; and the superscription written on olive.

To the right of the footpath leading from the gate to the church porch lies the great sculptured stone of the roofed, or hog-backed, type, other examples of which are known in Durham, Yorkshire, Cheshire, and in Scotland. Dr. Forrest Browne, Bishop of Bristol, the late Disney Professor of Archæology, describes it as

a solid mass of stone some six feet long and two feet thick, originally laid over some ancient grave. The zigzag lines along the top are probably the rude representation of tiling or shingling. There are several examples of tiled stones in various parts of the north, the idea probably being that the solid gravestone represented the last house of the dead person, and the gable-shaped top its roof.

A remarkable stone of this type, but only slightly ridged, and with no indication of a roof, or penthouse, at Overchurch, in the Wirral, between the Mersey and the Dee, bearing the earliest Cheshire example of a Christian inscription in runes, tells us that "the folk reared this beacon"—*i.e.*, landmark, or monument—"to Ethelmund." It would be deeply interesting to know to the memory of what great warrior in Church and State our Heysham "beacon" was sculptured and set up. The churchyard is remarkable for the number of sepulchral slabs of varied dates. Two are Calvary crosses, raised from a foot base of steps; a third, inside

Hog-Backed Stone, Heysham.

the church, already mentioned, is very fine in proportion and design (see illustration); another, outside, has the Irish harp; a fifth, on a priest's grave, the chalice. Two beautiful earlier slabs are difficult to date, as it is believed there are no others known exactly like them. The stones are narrow, with designs covering only about two-thirds of the field—one with a short, broad cross headed like the hilt of a sword; the other with double arms, and a second, narrow, even-limbed cross superimposed on the first—an uncommon form. These are all in raised carving; one later slab only is incised of Lombardic character, the matrix of a brass which has gone. In the new part of the churchyard a curious massive base stone has been found, almost Roman in its type, much resembling one at Hornby; another oblong stone, in the same place, has a fine cable moulding round its edge, and is thought by the Bishop of Bristol and Canon Greenwell to have been the base of the cross.

Mounting the little steep steps and pathway up the hill the weathered walls of the tiny chapel of St. Patrick stand against the sky, together with the rock-hewn graves surrounding it, unique in England, with its lovely view, its dedication and fabric of extraordinary age taking us back to the days and eventful history of the saint, British by birth, Irish by adoption and life-work, Roman and British by descent. Dim and unrecorded are the links which bind "the little grey church on the windy shore" with the story of the hero-saint; but name, and tradition, and pilgrim journeys, we would fain believe, all speak to us of him. The two great unsettled facts in St. Patrick's earlier life are his birthplace and the country to which he journeyed after his first escape from Ireland. The two are almost one, as to find his birthplace practically decides the route he would make for to return there from captivity. If this were Dumbarton or Kilpatrick, the unsettled condition of Strathclyde was far more subject to the harrying raids of the Scoto-Irish than Wales or

any interior parts of Britain; so that the descent on the Romano-British settlement on the Clyde, the slaughter of many of its people and defenders, with the slave capture of the younger inhabitants, has great internal probability. The desire to learn whether parents or family were left alive, and to re-visit his home, would be the more natural impulse of the young man, who had been torn from it, a lad of sixteen, some years before. The trade and war route between the present Scotland and Ireland was familiar to seamen, and if stress of stormy weather drove the boat on to the shores of Morecambe Bay direct, and south of its destination, as has been suggested, the locality and circumstances and names certainly accord as well with the slight facts of St. Patrick's own recital as do those in the other line of attribution to the coasts of Brittany or western France. Possibly the supporters of the latter theory, ignoring the English clue, are throwing two journeys into one. It seems a bit of plain sense and sentiment to put the northern journey first; and that in search of St. Martin for the training and equipment in education and religious teaching which the humility and stern intent of the wonderful young character recognised must be obtained to work out his vocation, would then follow later, and the little church and village of St. Patrick on the Loire, near Tours, its ancient yews and winter-flowering thorn tree, may have a true connection with this part of the saint's life. Lovers of the beautiful history may justly long to know; possibly some day the clue may be found.

The walls of his little English church are roofless and solid, with outer faces of large, rough-dressed axe-hewn stones, all welded together in a mass of almost imperishable mortar, made in Roman fashion, with burnt shells for lime, poured in hot between the irregular stones. The southern and eastern walls are intact, most of the west and northern sides are gone—only a fragment and foundations; the orientation is right; there is no sign of

Ruins of St. Patrick's Church, Heysham.

an eastern window beyond a small square hole, which could not light the altar through the thick wall, but might have supported a roof timber. A bevelled upright stone in a gap of the south wall shows traces of a window, and a very good small arch in the same side gave access; its long and short angle-stones and carved head-piece, hewn out of a single stone, with curious grooving, mark its date. Deep-cut in the living rock around lie ancient, rock-hewn graves (see illustration), six on one side; two again rather apart, one only the size of a little child; and parts of two or three others showing through the turf. Some are over six feet in length, others five, four, and the tiny one three; three are straight-sided, the rest body-shaped; on several the ledge remains where the covering slab has fitted, one of which is left; all have a square, deep-sunk hole for the shaft of the cross at the head; all lie east and west. On the narrow ledge of rock between the cliff's edge and the nearest grave are hollows and markings, shown by rubbings, taken years ago by the Bishop of Bristol, to be weathered remains of an interlaced design like that on the cross in the churchyard below, probably covering the smoothed, bevelled surface of the rock around the burial-places when first carved out. There are no other instances of such burial-places in England, and to those with history-loving eyes the whole place is unique, and deserves the most special care, as of a treasured national monument. Surely it is a very natural and fair inference that some remarkable association led to the foundation of the church on such a site a century or two after St. Patrick's day, and gathered the burials of many who were drawn to the hallowed place to lie in the reverent shadows of its walls in the sweet northern air and sunshine. No one can consider the long series of dates of such burial-places—the barrows below, the rock coffins *in situ*, the carved stones around the parish church—without the insistent question arising, Why was this such a sacred site? No monastic

foundation, no great abbey or priory or collegiate church. Certainly the memory of some great life is stamped upon the place.

Too little has been said in reference to the carvings on the hog-backed stone, the two sides of which are shown in the illustration. Specialists in this type of work have referred the subjects to the pseudo-Gospel of Nicodemus, the curious legends of which seem to have been popular in early times and down to a late period, when Erasmus, in his writings, refers to the reading of the book in churches and of the copy he saw chained to a pillar in St. George's Chapel at Windsor. Briefly, the story is told how Eve and Seth on the death of Adam journeyed to Paradise to fetch the holy vessel in which were stored the drops of blood from the Redeemer's side upon the Cross, the origin of the beliefs clustering around the Holy Grail. Evil spirits in the guise of wild beasts strove to turn them back. Note the figures in strenuous fight with animals, the wild boars, as special types of the sensuous sins surrounding them ; the one side showing the conflict, the other the return in peace, with the White Hart triumphant, type of our Lord in victory in the midst. One more point deserves notice. The little dog sitting upright on its tail, to the extreme right of the hart, has often been noticed by archæologists and students of symbolism, Mr. Theodore Bent having told the writer that he had seen it in several places in the East and in the Ionian Islands. The following notes from two authors throw some light on the use of the dog figure :—

An attendant dog at death is a widespread superstition both of East and West, and there is a popular belief through ancient Armorica that the dead betake themselves at the moment of departure to the Parish Priest of Braspar, whose dog escorts them to Great Britain. A fabulous dog named Garna, in Scandinavian mythology, was believed to guard the entrance to the Infernal regions.

Attendant on death ceremonies in Asia is a waiting dog. Parsees place a dog in the dying-chamber, to serve as an escort to heaven. The soul

arrives at the bridge of Chinvar, where the bad spirits fight for its possession. The soul of a righteous person is defended by the other pure souls, and by the dogs that guard the bridge.

In *Persia Past and Present*, by the American Professor Jackson, the following bit of Persian folk-lore evidently bears on the same belief, though from the writer's comments he has perhaps not grasped the full meaning of the office of the dog. He refers to

the high and almost sacred honour formerly paid in Persia to the dog, an animal whose name is seldom uttered by modern Persians but to express loathing and contempt.

The ceremony of the "Sagdid," or glance of a dog, is now performed for the first time. This ancient rite, which dates back to the period of the "Avesta," consists of making a dog look at the dead body, since its gaze is believed to have a peculiar efficacy for driving away the "Nasu," or evil spirits. . . . No special dogs are employed in Yegd for performing the "Sagdid"; the ordinary street dog is called in for the purpose. Morsels of bread are strewn around the body, or according to older customs laid on the bosom of the dead, and the dog eats these.

We are all familiar with the Greek and Norsemen's practice of slaying the favourite horse and hound on their master's burial; probably the mediæval custom of placing a sculptured dog, more often than any other animal, on a tomb at its master's feet is the last survival of this widespread ancient belief.

An outline of church, parish, and manor history, from charters and other sources, is all that space will allow.

The village, Hessam, not the church, is mentioned in *Domesday Book* amongst the lands of the King, though granted shortly after by him to Roger of Poictou. What we now reckon as North Lancashire was till a late date part of the Archdeaconry of Richmond, in the diocese of York, until the creation of the See of Chester in 1541. The *Domesday Survey* of this northern section is very imperfect, consisting mainly of lists of manors and places with no detail. Rather later Earl Roger was in possession of large gifts of land in North Lancashire, and in 1094 granted "the church, with a third of 'the town,' together

with St. Mary of Lancaster and certain other lands," to the Abbey of St. Martin at Seez, near Alençon, in South Normandy, which abbey was one of fifteen originally founded by St. Evrault, and refounded by Roger Montgomery of Poictou. Heysham and Lancaster were held by St. Martin's at Seez for three centuries and a half, until the dissolution of alien priories in the reign of Henry V. in 1414, when the church lands in England held by foreign abbeys and priories were re-annexed and bestowed on English foundations, the Brigittine Abbey of Syon, in Middlesex, being endowed with Lancaster and Heysham, of which it held possession until the general dissolution of monastic foundations under Henry VIII. Heysham is mentioned in many old charters, and in the valor or taxation of the only English Pope, Adrian Brakespeare, Nicholas IV., in 1291. Registers of alien priories are uncommon, but in the very beautiful register of Lancaster Priory, in the British Museum, Carte de Hesham occurs in its lists of charters. In an inspeximus or confirmatory charter of 15 Richard II., "Hessehn cum tertia parte totius villæ" is again referred to under the gift of Roger to Seez.

The patronage of the rectory of Heysham is said to have been occasionally exercised by the Crown even before it was severed from Seez. Since the Dissolution it has been vested sometimes in the Crown, more usually in private hands. The presentations and institutions of the rectors appear in the Chester Episcopal Registers from 1568, and are given in full in Harland's edition of Baines' *History of the County Palatine of Lancaster.*

The earliest existing book of parish registers begins in 1658, too late a date for anything of remarkable interest beyond the recurrence of rather characteristic northern local surnames still existing in a parish, which was, till recently, almost isolated and little known. Some of the entries of sums collected by King's Letters, as the custom

HEYSHAM : GRAVES IN THE ROCKS.

was, in church, strike us now as very odd applications of charitable offerings:—

Collected by the Churchwardens and Overseers of this Parish, the first day of Aprill anno 1661, the sum of four shillings and sixpence for the children and inhabitants of Saint Bartholomew and Saint Bennet within the Citty of London.

In the same month and year—

towards the reliefe of Thomas Bury . . . (not legible . . .) of Horncastle in the County of Lincoln, gent.

For the rebuilding of St. Mary's Church in Scarborough, one shilling; —in 1662, for the relief of the poore Protestants of the Dukedom of Lithuania, ten shillings and seven-pence. For six families in St. Martin's in the Fields, by fire, under the hand and seal of George (Hall) Bishop of Chester, published the 9th day of November, 1661—being the Lord's Day, after the First Lesson, by William Ward, parson of Heysham

whose quaint monumental stone in the chancel has been given already.

ROODS, SCREENS, AND LOFTS IN LANCASHIRE

By Aymer Vallance

IT is stated in the old Camden Society's manual, *English Ecclesiology* (1847), that the county of Lancaster "as regards ecclesiology is about the worst in England." Again, should the enquirer turn to a more recent and more enlightened source of information, the Rev. Dr. Cox's *English Church Furniture* (1907), he will not find much better encouragement in the section on screens and rood-lofts, for there it is written that Lancashire has, with one or two exceptions, "but little fine screenwork remaining." Now this *obiter dictum* is scarcely just; for did it contain no work of the sort beyond the grand rood-screens of Sefton and Middleton, to which should be added the late and fantastic specimen at Cartmel, and the very fine parcloses at Manchester, Lancashire would still be entitled to claim a conspicuous place after those favoured counties that excel through the distinction of their painted screens.

It is not my present purpose to discuss the primitive origin of the rood-screen, but rather, taking it as an accomplished fact, to lay stress on the paramount importance of this feature among the fittings of every place of Christian worship in pre-Reformation England. Such importance was derived—as, of course, the name was also—primarily from the situation of the screen itself, underneath what was an essential, as well as being the most prominent, object in any church interior—to wit, the Great Rood.

I cannot produce chapter and verse (with one sole exception, to be noted presently) to prove at what precise period of time a rood was set up in any given church in Lancashire. The reason simply is that, save under extraordinary circumstances, record of such incidents would no more be kept than it would in the case of fonts and altars, doors and windows. These things were matters so obvious and of so common experience as not to call for chronicle. But wherever, in the course of an ancient deed, register, or other such-like document, one happens to light on the word "rood" compounded with another—such as rood-priest or rood-altar, rood-loft (or soller), rood-light, and rood-stock, for example—as surely as a shadow exists not apart from the substance that casts it, so surely is proof furnished (none the less positive for being indirect) that in such and such a place a rood must have been in existence. Evidence, then, of one kind or another is forthcoming to show that a rood once stood in the churches respectively of Burnley, Cartmel Fell, Cockerham, Croston, Eccles, Farnworth, Halsall, Great Harwood, Huyton, Kirkham, Manchester, Melling, Middleton, Pennington, Preston, Sefton, Standish, Whalley, and Winwick.

In how great veneration our forefathers held the rood they manifested in divers ways. Thus they set up and endowed altars, expressly dedicated to this object, at Burnley, Croston, Kirkham, Melling, Preston, and Standish. In the case of more than one of these it has been assumed, on account of the title, but without, in my opinion, sufficient warrant, that the rood-altar was located actually in the rood-loft. Altars in such a position, it is true, are not unprecedented, but quite exceptional. The sole instance, as I believe, in which specific record has been preserved of the existence of an altar in any Lancashire rood-loft is that of Whalley parish church.

Of what the "rood-stock" at Huyton may have consisted, which was valued at 7s. 8d., and was seized and handed to the King's commissioners at the general confiscation in the sixteenth century, there is no means of ascertaining. But real property would seem to have been made over by way of rood-endowment at Burnley, Croston, Kirkham, and Preston. In the case of the three last-named, the amounts of the rood-rents surrendered at the Dissolution to the receiver of the Duchy of Lancaster are known. They were: at Croston, £1 2s. 1d.; at Kirkham, 6s. 2d.; and at Preston, £1 6s. In this connection it is interesting to recall that until the year 1855, when it was taken down, there stood in the Market Place at Preston an ancient, timber-framed house, which local tradition persistently affirmed to have belonged to the chantry of the rood there. Again, in Prestwich parish is certain land which to this day bears the same name whereby, with only slight variation—viz., Rooden, the Roodens or Roden Lane—it has been known from as far back as 1340. Although at that date it was dealt with as secular property, the traditional style seems to imply that it must, at some period of still remoter antiquity, have formed part of the endowment of the rood of the parish church.

That it was the custom to keep a light burning in the presence of the rood in most churches, if not indeed in every church, is probable, notwithstanding that evidence of the custom, as far as Lancashire is concerned, does not appear to be abundant. I am only able to instance Middleton, and that not before the middle of the sixteenth century.

In some cases—rarely, however, before the second half of the fifteenth century—a window, high in the wall near the eastern extremity of the nave, or else a dormer near to this point, in the roof, occurs, which must have been inserted where it is for the purpose primarily of illuminating the rood-loft or the great rood itself. Of

Whalley Church Rood Screen from the East.

this peculiarity Halsall church furnishes an instance. There, high in the south wall, a large, three-light window, with a square head, under a lintel embattled externally along the top, was constructed about the year 1520. Its presence there is to be accounted for, without doubt, in the way I have named.

In some churches the roof above the rood-loft, to a certain distance from the east end of the nave, would be panelled and decorated more elaborately than the rest, so as to form a sort of canopy of state over the head of the rood. In other churches, again, a specially fashioned tester or hood projected from the east wall of the nave for the same purpose. It was known as a "celure"—*i.e.*, ceiling—but is variously spelled "celer," "celler," or even "seller." Such canopies are known to have existed at the Collegiate Church at Manchester, as also at Croston and Eccles churches.

Devotion to the rood sometimes prompted persons to choose for burial-place that spot in the church which lay immediately before or at the foot of the rood, or in the way over which the Sunday procession would pass to the station in front of the rood. Thus Adam Birom, of Salford, by will, dated 3rd May, 1556 (date of probate not known), gives and bequeaths "my bodie to be buried in the parishe churche of Manchester afore the rode nere unto my father and mother"; while the record of the burial of the Rev. Jonathan Brideoake (Rector of Sefton from 1678 to 1684) in the "Collegiate Church of Manchester, in ye procession way over against ye pulpit," carries the tradition on to near the end of the seventeenth century.

However, not to anticipate. A general destruction of roods and their attendant images took place under Edward VI.; but the restoration of the old religion by his successor entailed the replacing of roods, flanked by figures of Mary and John, as formerly. In giving his version of events at this period, the scurrilous author

of *Actes and Monuments* tells a characteristic story of a rood, a story which, since the scene of the alleged occurrence is laid in Lancashire, may be repeated here for what it is worth. The parishioners and churchwardens of Cockerham being charged, under Queen Mary, to provide a new rood in lieu of that destroyed in the late King's reign, "made their bargain, and were at a price with" a man "that could cunningly carve and paint such" images "for the framing of their rood." In course of time the crucifix was finished, and was erected in its place; but it proved such a ghastly caricature that when the author of it claimed the stipulated amount, the churchwardens, "misliking his workmanship," declined to pay; whereupon he had them arrested and brought before the Mayor of Lancaster to settle the dispute. The mayor was an individual over whose unjudicial partiality towards the prosecuting party Foxe absolutely gloats. Interrogated as to why they withheld payment, the Cockerham churchwardens replied: "Because the rood we had before was a well-favoured man, and he" (the plaintiff) "promised to make us such another; but this that he hath set up now is the worst-favoured thing that you ever set your eyes on, gaping and grinning in such sort that none of our children dare once look him in the face or come near him." The mayor ruled that, no matter whether the result were approved or not, the executant had duly earned payment for his labour, and therefore the debt must be discharged. At the same time he told the defendants to go home and look on the rood, "and if it will not serve for a god, make no more ado, but clap a pair of horns on his head, and so he will make an excellent devil." That such coarse insolence should have been taken "well in worth" under any circumstances, but especially by persons aware that they had the Government at their back, is not more nor less credible than the preceding part of the story.

HUYTON: CHANCEL SCREEN.

However, as soon as Elizabeth, child of Anne Boleyn, came to the throne, the destruction of roods began again, and was carried out so systematically and so completely all over the kingdom that, to quote the words of the late Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, "any part of a rood is now amongst the rarest objects known to antiquaries."

The remote parish of Cartmel Fell has the remarkable distinction of possessing the sole existing crucifix figure not only in Lancashire but, with one other exception, in all the forty counties of England. It dates from some time in the fifteenth century. The head, trunk, and the legs, as far as the ankles, are preserved. The arms, which would have been formed of separate pieces and joined from the back at the shoulders, are missing. They extended quite horizontally, in accordance with ancient precedent. The head is bent slightly forward, the eyes closed, and the brow scored with deep furrows. The nose and lower part of the left side of the face are mutilated. There is no sign at the top of the head of any hole nor peg by which a "diadem" or nimbus could have been attached. The crown of thorns, fashioned without projecting spikes, resembles an heraldic torse. From underneath it, as also from the wound in the right side, there were discernible, as late as the middle of the eighties of the nineteenth century, blood-drops trickling down, of which, however, practically no trace now remains. The body is thin, almost to emaciation; the ribs prominent. The loins are, as usual, covered with a loin-cloth, which is wrapped round in plain folds. The legs are joined together to below the knees. The feet have evidently been crossed, yet nothing remains of them but charred stumps; whence the conjecture that this sculptured Christ must have been maltreated by being used to stoke the vestry fire, an indignity from which it was rescued in 1875, and to which, now that it has been taken for safe keeping to the vicarage, one would

fain trust it may never again be subjected. The surviving portion measures 31½ inches, so that the total length of the original figure must have been somewhat under three feet—a rood comparatively small for an average-sized church, but scarcely disproportionate for such a low-pitched and insignificant building as that at Cartmel Fell (67 feet long by 25 feet 3 inches wide). The figure is of oak, and the entire surface of it has at one time been primed with white gesso preparation for gilding. Nearly all, however, has worn off, and only slight traces in parts, notably the right side of the face and neck, survive. The execution is rugged, nay, almost coarse; and yet the whole, owing perhaps to the tense and vertical pose of the body, and to the absence of any sensationalism or agonised distortion, conveys a powerful, if indefinable, impression of dignity all its own.

Ritual-screening arrangements attained to fullest development in the churches of monastic orders. Nor yet among these did a uniform custom prevail, for the Cistercian plan, of which the two principal religious houses in the county—viz., Furness and Whalley—furnish instances, was not only different from, but also more complicated than, the rest. At Furness the pulpitum, or screen with loft, bounding the quire at the west, must have been a most imposing structure, inasmuch as it occupied an entire bay of the nave. Its eastern side was a plain wall, 28 feet 6 inches long, athwart the nave at the second pair of pillars to the west of the crossing. Its western side, noted as long ago as 1844 by T. A. Beck, was another wall, parallel to the last-named, at the third pair of pillars to the west of the crossing. The intermediate space between these two walls formed the retro-quire. It "was floored over," according to Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, who conducted important excavations here in 1896 and two following years, "at some height to form a gallery or loft"; which walls and

Cartmel Fell: Head of Crucifix.

Sefton: Detail from Screen in South Aisle.

gallery together constituted the pulpitum. Both walls were alike pierced by a central doorway for the quire entrance. The western one of the two "was of early thirteenth century work," and its doorway was "flanked by two niches or panels." Remains of the base of this structure, comprising the ground-sill of the doorway and part of the stonework to the north of it, with the foot of one of the niches already mentioned, may yet be seen above ground. "The remainder towards the south also exists, but under the surface," having been driven in bodily many inches by some heavy mass from above falling upon it. There are some indications of an altar, enclosed within screens, having stood in front of the pulpitum, on either side of the doorway. Apparently also stone walls or screens extended across the aisles in line with the front of the pulpitum, making, from side to side of the church, practically a continuous screen some 65 feet 6 inches long. Another screen, parallel to the last-named, but, unlike it, of timber, standing immediately to the westward of the fourth bay from the crossing, partitioned off the five bays remaining of the nave to form the quire of the *conversi* or lay brothers. This timber screen differed from the normal monastic rood-screen in that it seems to have had not two side doors, but one central door only. It should, therefore, be regarded as a fence-screen, or perhaps as in some sort analogous to the rood-screen of a parish church. Nor was that all, for so long as the *conversi* continued to form part of the community—*i.e.*, until about the middle of the fourteenth century—the greater part of the arcades between the nave and the aisles would be walled to provide side enclosures for the quire of the *conversi*, in the same way that the quire of the monks themselves, or, indeed, the ritual quire of any monastic or cathedral church, needs must be walled on the north and south to seclude the occupants of the stalls from draughts, from outside sounds, or other distractions. In addition,

at Furness the north transept opened eastward through an arcade into three chapels. Perpents divided them from one another; stone parcloses screened them from the body of the transept. The arrangements of the south transept were similar, except that instead of three chapels there were two, while in place of the left-hand or northernmost one was a sacristy. It only remains to be said that, the commissioners of Henry VIII. having procured the surrender of Furness Abbey on April 9th, 1537, nothing intervened to hinder the usual process of despoiling the church of its rood, its screenwork, and whatever else of value it contained.

Thus much of the greatest of monastic churches in Lancashire. And now to return to the subject of its other churches. In process of time screens between nave and chancel—the rood-screens, that is to say—came to be surmounted by parapeted galleries or lofts, called, on account of their situation, rood-lofts. The latter were obviously a development or afterthought, so to speak, and such that scarcely occurred, or, at any rate, did not, it seems, become generally indispensable, before the latter part of the fifteenth century. Now, in order that lofts might be made accessible—for otherwise, of course, they would be of no use to anybody—steps had to be provided to conduct up to them. And whereas I find that in many parts of England a considerable amount of harm was done in the process—too often the reckless process—of compelling already built fabrics to admit the insertion of rood-entrances and rood-stairs where no such additions had been originally contemplated nor provided for, and where, therefore, they could not always be introduced without doing violence to the said fabrics; whereas I find this in other places, I have not observed anything of the kind in Lancashire. Indeed, the comparative rarity of rood-stairs in the county is remarkable. In a limited number of places the local plan, which survives to this day at Manchester, Eccles,

CARTMEL: ROOD SCREEN.

Wigan, and Standish, and also, I believe, did survive at the old church of Prestwich before the rebuilding—the plan of a pair of turrets, one at each of the two eastern corners of the nave, offered a very simple solution. For such turrets would contain newel-stairs (one only of the pair in most cases, probably, as at Eccles; or both of them, as in the more uncommon example of Manchester); stairs which, built in the first instance for the prosaic purpose of attending to roofs and gutters, were ready to hand on the spot, providing every facility one could wish for when the time came for rood-lofts to be erected. Nothing was easier, then, nor more convenient, than that the lofts should be reached by means of the existing stairs. It only needed that a door should be pierced through the turret masonry at the requisite height, and the object in view was gained. But in the majority of cases access to the rood-loft must have been obtained by means of wooden staircases, which, when the lofts were eventually destroyed, became themselves unnecessary, and were therefore removed likewise, leaving behind little or no trace of their late existence.

As to the material of Lancashire church screens, timber appears to have been employed almost without exception throughout the county. I have found no instances of the use of iron for this purpose, and only three of stone—viz., including Furness Abbey, already mentioned, at Upholland and Halsall.

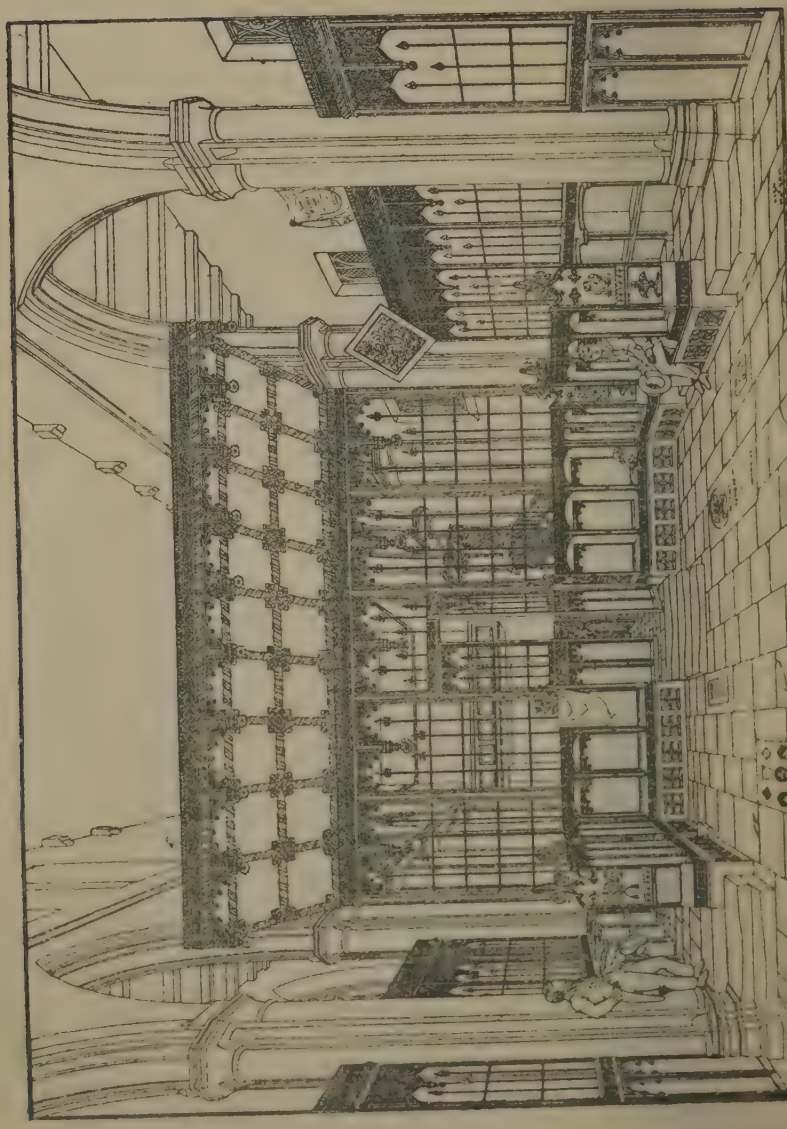
To return to the subject of rood-lofts. One of the purposes, possibly the main purpose, for which these structures had been introduced, was for the accommodation of singers and musicians, as also of whatever musical instruments might have been in use in different churches. Middleton church contained (as witnesses the Inventory drawn up by order of Edward VI. in 1552) a pair of "rigalles"—*i.e.*, regals; but there is nothing to show whereabouts in the building the instruments were

kept. The rood-loft would be the obvious place for them, as well as for the organ that is known then to have belonged to the same church—for organs, in fact, always, and wherever such an instrument might happen to be. But organs were very costly in pre-Reformation days, and therefore necessarily beyond the limit of most parish resources—nay, it was a luxury which only great communities like that of Whalley Abbey, or rich town churches like that of Manchester, in the fifteenth century could afford. I have met with no record of organs in Lancashire parochial churches before 1552, when the famous Inventories were drawn up, and it was disclosed that, beside the instance of Middleton church before mentioned, only Ashton, Eccleston, Great Budworth, Ormskirk, and Rochdale churches, six altogether, possessed organs. When one reads that the organ at Ormskirk, in 1552, had been purchased from the King —*i.e.*, Henry VIII.—one must understand that it came of the spoils of some religious house—maybe from Burscough Priory, not far distant. In another instance, that of Eccleston, the significance of the official scheduling of "a payre of organs with pypes of leade" is that it constituted a memorandum of a valuable asset to confiscate.

Early in Queen Elizabeth's reign district commissioners were appointed to enforce the change of religion in every parish, local residents being chosen where they could be relied on to serve the purpose. Otherwise strangers were imposed, and it often happened that these officials, whether through zeal or obsequiousness, anticipated or exceeded their instructions. In either event friction and unpleasantness inevitably resulted. Thus at Pennington a man named Brown, one of the four commissioners nominated by the royal visitors, earned the reproach of a Catholic for being "one of them that pulled down crosses in the church and pulled down the rood-sollor"—*i.e.*, *solarium*, or loft.

It was not until October, 1561, that the transposing of rood-screens by taking down the lofts from over them was formally ordered. Nevertheless, the destruction then officially inaugurated might (had the strict letter of the law been obeyed, which commanded that in no case must the chancel-screen itself be overthrown) have saved a large proportion of the original structures. But the law, in so far as it enjoined preservation, was never but half-heartedly enforced by the authorities from the outset, so that at length, though still unrepealed, it has come to be regarded on all sides as obsolete. The work, then, of demolition, once set afoot, has been carried on intermittently from that day to this, without restriction or safeguard, until the country is all but denuded of the screens that were among the most precious of its historic landmarks.

The sole relics surviving of Lancashire lofts, other than that at Manchester, are to be seen at Sefton and Winwick. In no case does the original parapet remain. The rood-screens at Middleton and Whalley, as is obvious from the method of their construction, once spread outwards at the top, with vaulting under the rood-loft floor. In either instance the whole of the original vaulting has perished. At Middleton the restored vaulting, as usually is the case with modern "restorations," is the poorest part of the work, the new projecting portion not being nearly bold enough. A gallery restricted to such narrow limits could not have afforded very much accommodation. Yet the fact is that by the time that the rood-loft at Middleton was constructed (*i.e.*, scarcely before the second quarter of the sixteenth century), plenty of room for singers, and very likely for their organ as well, would have become a necessity. The "restoration" of the screen at Whalley is worse than merely poor: it is wrong. To place, as has been done there, vertical buttresses and pinnacles in the denuded spandrels that were originally enveloped



in curved vaulting, with ribs springing from boutel-caps, is to introduce an irrelevant feature which completely alters the character and falsifies the aspect of the structure to which it pretends to belong.

The principal church in the county, namely, that of Manchester, howsoever large and imposing, had merely the status of an ordinary parish church down to the year 1422, when it was erected into a Collegiate church. Thenceforward it remained of no higher rank until, by virtue of an Act of Parliament, passed July 21st, 1847, it was constituted the cathedral of a new diocese. It cannot, therefore, be expected to present, as regards its screen system, the distinguishing features of a mediæval cathedral, built and arranged for a monastic community or secular chapter.

That the present organ-screen, or pulpitum, at the entrance of the quire was not the first structure to occupy that position is certain, but it is idle to speculate as to what the old rood-screen may have been like that existed before the appointment of John Huntington as first warden of the new foundation. During his tenure of office (1422 to 1458) extensive rebuilding took place. The fact of the dimensions of his quire being reckoned thus early "from the two great pillars (or pinnacles) where the organ stands to the east end of the church," shows that there was an organ here at any rate in Huntington's time, if not before that, and, moreover, that its position was at the western boundary of the quire (where no doubt it was supported on a loft) between the two piers of the arch dividing the quire from the nave. The probability is that Huntington made no radical change at this point, but that he followed the existing plan, if, indeed, he did not retain much of the original work. More important changes occurred later, under James Stanley's wardenship. He found a screen and loft between the two chancel-arch piers, of which,

at any rate, the southern one contained, as now, a newel-stair, 4 feet 6 inches in diameter, leading up to the platform of the loft, and beyond it up to the roof. The cylindrical newel is said to have rested on a moulded base, of which, however, no sign is to be seen at the present day. Stanley's scheme of widening the quire northward—for there was no St. John's chapel then to hinder expansion in that direction—involved the taking down of the northern pier and rebuilding it somewhat further towards the north. It was rebuilt on a more commodious scale than the other, as its newel-stair, 5 feet in diameter, shows. Moreover, the fact that its stone steps are less worn than those of the southern stair, has been adduced to prove that the latter must be the older, as also it is that one which has been in more constant use. Stanley may have done something in the way of remodelling the surface or casing of the southern pier, so as to bring it into accord with his new pier on the opposite side; but certain differences between the two survive to the present day, not even the perverse ingenuity of Sir Gilbert Scott having availed to reduce them to absolute uniformity. For instance, although the heads of the rood-stair doors under the pulpitum are four-centred-arched in both cases, the northern one has sunk triangular spandrels above it, whereas the southern one has no spandrels at all. The panelled oak doors with which both are fitted are modern. The southern stair emerges under a four-centred-headed doorway into the loft. The corresponding stair and doorway at the north end are now disused and always kept fastened.

The great screen, or pulpitum, itself was, it is practically certain, the work of James Stanley II. (warden from 1485 to 1509). There being no other screen to westwards of it across the nave, the pulpitum fulfilled a double office—its own, and that of rood-screen as well. It is highly probable, if not absolutely certain, that,

SEFTON: DETAIL OF TOP OF ROOD SCREEN

being constructed of timber, as is the case of the more famous pulpitum in Hexham Abbey, like the latter, its parallel walls were as solid to look at as any stone pulpitum. The passage through them from west to east was walled (as at Hexham) with wooden partitions, having a doorway right and left in the middle of each side of the passage, an arrangement that lasted until 1815, after which it was abolished. The floor of the loft above, carried over the space between the two supporting walls, overhung on groined vaulting beyond the face of the western screen-wall. The arched forms in the latter, and its solid spandrels, prove that this must have been so. Contrariwise on the eastern or quire side there was no room to allow it to project (except possibly in the middle) because of the return stalls, with their lofty canopies, backing close up against it. These provided the requisite protection at the top towards the quire, but towards the nave a parapet would be required, where is now a modern one, for which Sir Gilbert Scott is responsible.

Above the loft would be fixed, until the accession of Edward VI., the great rood, dignified in its latter days by a gorgeously painted celure overhead. The evidence of this adjunct having formerly existed in the Collegiate church is overwhelming. Previously to a number of disastrous "improvements" being perpetrated there in the year 1815, "a large oak beam," says John Palmer, in his architectural account of the building, "extended from the south to the north wall, a little below the crown of the arch," which opens from the nave into the quire. This beam "was adorned from end to end with a trefoil embattled ornament, behind which rose a cove formed of oaken boards, which terminated at the first principal beam of the roof in the nave. These boards were plastered over, and upon the plaster was rudely painted the arms of Manchester. . . . When we," he continues—the use of the first person is to be

noted, as showing the architect, Palmer, himself to have been an active participator in the proceedings—"removed the plaster from the oak boards, the remains of another painting was discovered . . . much mutilated by the workmen chipping the surface of the boards to make the plaster adhere more firmly to them. In the centre, immediately above the crown of the arch, appeared a sun in all the radiance of the fullest glory, and on each side were three saints under pointed canopies of the richest workmanship. From the mouth of each was a label, on which was a Latin sentence; but the words were too much obliterated by the plasterer's axe to be retrieved, except the one on the north side, which appeared to be '*Memoria Dei*.'" The style of the painting, the subject itself, the mouldings and the ornament, all combined, admittedly, to prove this coved structure a work of the pre-Reformation period. In fact, ignorant though he appears to have been of the nature of the object described, Palmer's verbal minuteness leaves no manner of doubt as to its identity with the celure erected in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, as testify the two following excerpts from wills of the period. That of William Becke, dated 22nd November, 1520, contains a bequest of 40s. "unto the roode seller off Manchester when yt shall be pcode"—*i.e.*, procured; while a later will, that of Alice, widow of Ralph Byrom, dated 26th January, 1523-4, having directed that her body should be buried in the college church of our Blessed Lady of Manchester, continues: "I beqwethe toward ye rode seler 10s.," which indicates that the celure was then being, or on the point of being, constructed. And so this valuable monument survived both the Reformation and the Cromwellian Revolution, only to fall victim at length to the pretensions of make-believe "beautifiers" in the nineteenth century.

And now to return to the subject of the pulpitum. A gallery already existed across the east end of the

nave when, on 1st September, 1813, plans were formally presented for new-pewing the body of the church. The date of the erection of this gallery is not known, but when eventually its ceiling was taken down, there were found upon the beam of the screen two verses of the fourth chapter of Deuteronomy, which inscription was proved by the version followed to be of post-Reformation date. The gallery, then, cannot have been identical with the ancient rood-loft, but was a thing of later introduction. In the scheme in question the abolition of the east gallery was not contemplated, only its renovation and replacement, with certain immaterial changes. These and other "improvements" were carried out in 1814-15; but, as John Palmer complains, they were quite inadequate, having been rendered so through "paltry pecuniary considerations." On the other hand, the "whole of the extraneous matter"—*i.e.*, antiquated pewing and choristers' seats—which encumbered the front of the ancient screen might have been swept away, and its "dilapidations judiciously repaired"; and yet, for the sake of the pew-rents therefrom accruing, a number of these sittings were still retained. They were not finally abolished until 1847, a printed report of the then recently executed repairs announcing, in November of the same year, that "the rearrangement of the space in front of the rood-screen has been completed. . . . The removal of the pews shows, alas! the mutilation they have caused. Elegant buttresses cut away because their projection incommoded the lolling occupant; monials cut into for shelves; hacking and nail-driving without end to fasten up these unsightly pews," which, being no less than seven feet high, must have constituted a serious disfigurement to the screen's façade. At the same time (1847) the sash-windows, which had been inserted into the eastern wall of the pulpitum, were removed, and "replaced by single sheets of plate glass." The report goes on to say: "The space

between the two screens has been filled in with solid oak stalls for the attendance of the clergy during the sermon." This space is empty and unencumbered now, thanks to the exertions either of Mr. Holden, who was official architect from 1845 to 1881, or of Sir Gilbert Scott, who carried out much work here between 1864 and 1868. It is probably to the former that the credit belongs of closing the doorway which had been improperly made in the south-west side of the southern rood-turret. For in or about the year 1825 the old doorway opening under the loft into the southern rood-stair was boarded up, and to provide access by the same stair from the floor to the east gallery of the nave, a new passage was cut through the solid masonry on the opposite side of the pier—a most perilous proceeding, which might have proved, but happily did not prove, disastrous to the stability of the fabric. This novel opening is shown in Palmer's plan of 1828, and in Winkles's, published about twenty years later.

Meanwhile the difficulty of tracing the vicissitudes of the pulpitum is enhanced by the fact that no authoritative, systematic record has been kept, and that such scattered notices as are available do not always corroborate one another, nor tally with contemporary reproductions in drawings and engravings, wherein accuracy of detail is subordinated too often to picturesqueness.

John Palmer's drawing (dated March, 1828) is somewhat of a fancy picture. It displays a spacious and empty nave, whereas at the time the whole area was crowded, as has been described above, with pews and seats right up to the screen. Nor, again, is any organ depicted then, though known to have been built in 1742, and though Palmer himself explicitly states that it was not removed until some six months afterwards. Such as the drawing is, however, it shows, correctly enough, a double screen—*i.e.*, an eastern wall, and,

parallel to the latter, but further westwards, an arcade of *five* openings or lights on either side of the entrance, the upper part consisting of a crested lintel, with no vaulting below, no overhanging storey nor parapet above, and the whole surmounted by a low gallery, with seats mounting in tiers from west to east.

A lithograph by Samuel Rayner (undated, but between about 1840 and 1850) differs from the last-named in showing the western arcade to comprise, on each side of its central doorway, *six* arched openings, cusped and feathered. Moreover, the screen is depicted with a gallery above it, the middle portion of which, extending navewards in a polygonal bay, is supported on two posts rising straight from the ground. This arrangement dates from the musical festival of October, 1828, and, as such, was scarcely meant for a permanency. A print of the interior of the church thus fitted coincides with Rayner's view, with the addition, however, of a few further details – *e.g.*, the arches of the side lights and of the quire entrance (the latter closed with folding doors or gates) are unequivocally four-centred, while the entire length of the gallery front is panelled with architectural panelling, except in the middle, where are displayed the royal arms. These were carved by Thomas Wainhouse, a Manchester man, and erected in honour of George IV., who had given his patronage to the musical festival.

An engraving in Winkles's *Cathedrals*, from a drawing by T. Worthington, is more recognisable. It depicts the west façade of the screen as it then was, in the years 1842-7, the apex of each of its three complete arches, as also of each half-arch at either end, rising all to one and the same level. This is unquestionably the correct design, and such that endured down to the time when the screen was manipulated by Sir Gilbert Scott. In the last-named engraving, the spandrels are shown as bereft of their former vaulting, and the whole

finished by a simple cornice, without anything else on the top. The organ that once used to tower, as it does at the present day (1908), above the pulpitum, had been transferred, be it remembered, in 1828, to the opposite end of the nave, where it remained for upwards of forty years. Nevertheless, interim views within the quire towards the west (*e.g.*, T. Allom's, published in 1832) depict an organ above the quire entrance, wedged in between the canopies of the return stalls that flank the said entrance. The explanation is simple. The great organ was, indeed, transported from the pulpitum to the west end at the date mentioned, but its place became supplied by a choir organ. This instrument answered all ordinary purposes, while yet, being small and squat, it did not show over the top of the screen structure as viewed from the nave. It was taken away in or about the year 1858.

The next incident is recorded in the manuscript diary of John Owens. "This forenoon," he writes, under the date February 28th, 1858, "the ancient beam, a part of the old rood-loft of the cathedral, was taken down, and the upper doorways which formerly gave access to the loft were built up." This, like the next operations, which, though the record of the date unfortunately is wanting, must have occurred about the same time, was the work of the architect Holden. "The feoffees' gallery which," says the newspaper cutting in question, "blocked up the view eastward as well as on both sides up to the Trafford and Ducie chapels"—south and north of the nave respectively—"has been removed. The choir organ, now more conspicuous, will be removed. . . . It is proposed to open out the view and passage to the choir, which has hitherto been too secluded. To effect this the remainder of the gallery will be taken down, and part of the old screen, thus opening the stalls for the clergy, which are at present boxed off out of sight and hearing."

In the interval between the last-named proceedings and the next, a momentous step was taken, viz., Sir Gilbert Scott was chosen by the authorities to conduct the second "restoration" in the century (the first had taken place in 1815; the third, subsequently, was begun between 1882 and 1888).

In connection with Scott's advent, the press, on June 3rd, 1864, chronicled the fact that "the splendid screen which separated the choir from the nave has been removed, and many who admired this ornament look with regret on its absence." It was deposited temporarily in the south quire ambulatory, against the back of the stalls, and some eight years elapsed ere it was allowed to return to its proper place. Contemporary evidence as to the facts is once more furnished by Owens, who records in his diary for the year 1872: "Excavation made on the south side of the north turret to form foundation for the old rood-screen and organ. The rood-screen, having been knocking about for some years, has been partly renewed, and is now being reinstated in its old position, but I think slightly in advance of its former site."

The pulpitum now set up was in many respects not the same as that which had been taken away in 1864. For in the meantime the mediæval joinery work was taken to pieces, not solely that defects might be made good with fresh material, but that the structure itself might be remodelled under the architect's direction. Sir Gilbert Scott's scheme included the reinstallation of the great organ conjointly with the pulpitum. The grievous pity is that, in carrying it into effect, he could not refrain from tampering with the design of the screen itself. To preserve the latter as he found it would have been a matter of no difficulty whatever, nor to rear the organ high enough to clear the summit of the screen's front arcade. Instead of this plain and obvious course, however, he elected (ostensibly to furnish support to his

ponderous Neo-Gothic organ case) to blunt and depress the middle arch below the level of its fellows on either hand. It was an arbitrary and unwarrantable innovation, the only result of which has been to ruin the symmetry and logical coherence of the entire design.[1] As compared with the foregoing, the throwing open the side bays, and the conversion of their fixed panel work into hinged doors, might be described as venial. There are now three sets of folding doors or gates in the front of the screen—one pair, that is, in each of its three arches. Furthermore, the wood has been "picked out" with partial gilding and painting, the mean and meagre effect of which cannot even pretend to reproduce the richness and dignity of the original. In mediæval days if a screen such as this were not treated with gold and polychromy all over, it would be left perfectly plain, without any painted decoration whatsoever. A carved trail of conventional foliage, turning over and over, ornaments the face of the rail. In that strip of it which runs across the right-hand central door, unlike the rest, the foliation issues from a monster's mouth at each end—a play of fancy which attests the genuineness of at any rate this portion of the work. For in modern days no sculptor would dream of departing thus from the drab routine of mechanical uniformity.

Limited space does not permit me to do more than allude to the beautiful parclose screens, some of which stand in their original places, others not, in different parts of Manchester Collegiate Church. The rare and exquisite figure of St. George is above the door of the screen which now encloses the Lady Chapel at the extreme east end of the building.

A few words must now be said about chantries, since this institution was one which has an intimate bearing

[1] It is due to say that Mr. G. Rowbotham, who, as a boy, saw the pulpitum both before and after its "restoration" by Scott, is under the impression that no change, such as I have described, was effected.

on the present subject. A chantry has been, not inaptly, defined as a church within a church, for it was self-contained, standing within the church's walls, and yet secluded from the rest of the building by its environments of screens. The number of endowed chantries in Lancashire before the Reformation overwhelmed them has been reckoned (colleges included) at about ninety. In some of the recorded instances they were attached to one and the same altar; in others, they merely represent the reinstitution or expansion of an existing foundation; or, again, in other instances, the endowment was attached to the high altar. But, full allowance made for duplicates and other instances that ought not to be reckoned as additional, the number of chantry side-altars can scarcely, at the lowest computation, be less than fifty or sixty, a total which implies the existence of an immense amount of parclose screenwork, comparatively little of which is now extant. In 1545-6 "the lands, goods, and possessions of these foundations," to quote the words of the Rev. F. R. Raines, "were settled by an arbitrary Parliament on the King, and a commission was issued to ascertain their history and value." The return was accordingly made, and as much of the property as could be traced was confiscated to the Crown. A second commission, with the same object, in 1548, secured to Edward VI. the remnant of the property that had eluded his father's rapacity. At the time of the suppression of the chantries, their screened enclosures appear to have passed for private property, being appropriated as family pews by the nearest living representatives of the original chantry founders. Contested ownership of these pews, or "cages," as they were popularly called, led frequently to quarrels, and even litigation, between rival claimants, as was the case at Colne in the reign of Henry VIII.; at Oldham and Eccles in the reign of Elizabeth; at Burnley and Whalley in the reign of James I.; and at Leigh in the reign of

Charles II. In addition to the above-named examples, chantry or parclose screens exist, or are known to have existed, at Bolton, Farnworth, Flixton, Goosnargh, Hawkshead, Huyton, Leyland, Middleton, Ormskirk, Preston, Ribchester, Rochdale, Sefton, and Winwick.

In Middleton church is a rood-screen which, in my judgment, ranks as the most remarkable in the county—maybe in any county—and that not so much because of its ornamental qualities, though they are of a high order, as because it affords a very pageant and exemplar to the student of heraldry and genealogy. If so elaborate a document of its kind as this is not common among parcloses, it is still more unusual to meet with one as a rood-screen. Its character is indeed perfectly secular, to which circumstance it probably owes its marvellous state of preservation. And yet there can be no doubt that it was destined from the first for the purposes of a rood-screen—the arched construction of it, and the implied vaulting to carry a rood-loft, proclaim as much. I say "implied," the old vaulting having perished long ago, and its place not until quite recent years filled with a more or less plausible proxy for the original. Its date cannot be prior to 1524, the year of the rebuilding of the greater part of the church, including that part in which the rood-screen itself is situated. The latter, therefore, must have been constructed somewhere about the years 1525-30. It presents a rare feature in the shape of a series of heraldic achievements. There are no less than ten of them. They are sculptured on panels, of an average size of twenty-four inches square, ranging from end to end of the screen beneath the middle rail. Though the whole structure has been restored (by Messrs. Rattee and Kett, of Cambridge), and all the panels rebacked with new boarding, the best of it, *i.e.*, the heraldic carving, appears to be that, happily, which has suffered least, and to be most nearly in its original condition. Much, indeed, of the cutting is as crisp and clean as it could have been

Panels from Middleton Church Rood Screen.

on the day it left its sixteenth century sculptor's hands; while the modern repairs are confined to insignificant patching in only a few places. It is proper, however, to mention that a measured drawing of the screen, by Mr. E. W. Leeson, of Oldham, appeared in *The Builder* of October 11th, 1884 (that is to say, previously to restoration), and that in the said drawing, so far as can be judged from the excessively reduced scale of the reproduction, the panel of the left-hand gate appears then as more than half obliterated. Possibly it may be due to subsequent repairs that the identification of this particular shield (No. 6, below) presents the riddle it does. For the rest the task of arriving at a correct solution is difficult enough in any case, not only because of absence of tinctures—there is not even a faint trace of colour throughout—but also, and very largely, because of the liberties in which the sculptor, obviously no herald, has indulged in his treatment of the subject. The following, in order from left to right, is a description of the heraldry of the panels (so far as I have been able to learn), blazoned and assigned to the families severally entitled to bear. In each case, where not otherwise specified, the torse is surmounted by a rude variety of panache instead of a crest. Panels numbers 1 to 4, inclusive, belong to the northern division of the screen, 5 and 6 to the gates, and 7 to 10, inclusive, to the southern division.

1.—Arms: a cross of doubtful form, perhaps moline, *i.e.*, azure, a cross moline or; for Molyneux.

2.—Arms: a bend engrailed, *i.e.*, argent, a bend engrailed sable; for Radcliffe.

3.—Arms: a cross, represented, perhaps unintentionally, couped.

4.—Arms: a mullet pierced, *i.e.*, argent, a mullet pierced sable. Crest: a boar's head; both for Ashton.

5.—Arms: three bars, an incorrect rendering of argent three bendlets enhanced gules. Crest: a mermaid with comb and mirror in her hands; both for Birom.

6.—Arms: quarterly. (i.) A griffin passant; for Bold or Booth. (ii.) Upon a bend three jambes erased. This I cannot identify; but, if I misinterpret the charges and they are really meant for garbs, it might stand for Fitton, *i.e.*, argent on a bend sable three garbs or; or else possibly for Hesketh. (iii.) Upon a bend three bezants (or three torteaux); perhaps loosely rendered for Ince. However, as the glass version of the same shield, in one of the windows, depicts them more like escarbuncles, this quarter must, I think, be intended for argent on a bend gules three escarbuncles or; for Thornton. (iv.) A saltire; for Gerard. Crest: a griffin, as in the first quarter of the shield; for Bold or Booth.

7.—Arms: the Manx device, *i.e.*, gules three legs in armour proper, conjoined at the hip and flexed in triangle. Crest: an eagle only; but, in conjunction with the arms, there can be no doubt that it is meant for the legendary device (derived through the Stanleys' alliance with the Lathoms) of the eagle and swaddled child; both for Stanley.

8.—Arms: a dog (whether a talbot or a greyhound I cannot tell) passant. Perhaps it should be described:—argent a greyhound passant sable; for Holford.

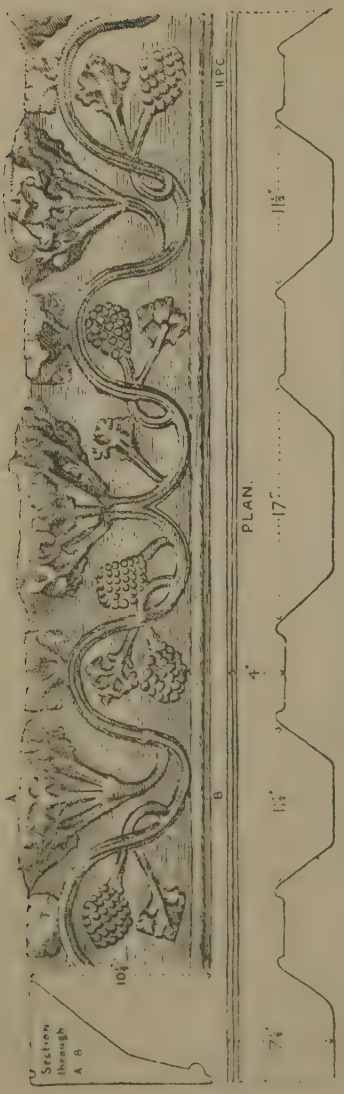
9.—Arms: a garb, *i.e.*, azure a garb or; for Grosvenor.

10.—Arms: a staff ragulé in bend sinister, possibly intended simply for a bend ragulé. Crest: an owl, which might have been assigned to the Saviles, but that the arms accompanying it do not agree. If the owl held in its claws a rat (of which, however, there is no trace), it might be meant for the Lancashire family of Standish.

Rev. T. D. Whitaker's *History of Whalley* says that this screen "bears, amongst others, the arms of Assheton quartering Barton of Middleton." Among all the number there is only one shield of quarterings, and the arms

of Barton are not in it. One, Ralph Barton, High Sheriff in 1605, bore for crest a boar's head gules; but the only boar's head here belongs, as the arms underneath prove, to the Ashtons. However, Murray's *Handbook for Lancashire* (latest edition, 1880), apparently borrowing, without verification, from the above-mentioned authority, repeats the statement that Barton arms occur on the screen at Middleton. The Barton shield does indeed comprise an owl on a canton, and I am inclined therefore to think that the mistake has arisen from some confusion between this known feature of their arms and the unidentified crest of an owl in the last panel of the screen.

As to general style and arrangement, the subjects of the blazonry are disposed opposite to one another in pairs, so that half of the number turn to sinister, half to dexter, alternately. In outline the shields are not all alike, though in every case belonging to a late type. Two only, those in the first and last panels, are *à bouche*, shaped, that is, like tilting shields, with a hollow scooped out of the dexter chief to form a lance-rest. The helmets are poor and clumsy; there is not a single well-modelled one throughout the series. In fact this feature is the worst in the composition. As to the mantling, the treatment is very unequal. In some panels it forms a most graceful setting to the shields and helms, flowing in and about amid the surrounding spaces with unfailing mastery and resourcefulness; in others it is so tame and uninspired as to suggest that the whole cannot possibly have been carried out by the same hand, but by executants of varied degrees of capability. Nor need such a proceeding appear strange nor improbable, when the peculiar circumstances of the work are remembered. It might well be too much to expect that the appointment of one artist, and one only, should be unanimously agreed on in a case where at least ten separate patrons, as so many different sections attest, were separately and individually interested.



DETAIL OF BREASTSUMMER FROM ROOD-LOFT IN WINWICK CHURCH.

WINWICK.—Attached like a frieze to a wall in the vestry, is preserved a valuable relic of the ancient rood-loft. It consists of a large section of the breastsummer, or beam, that, forming the lowest member of the projecting front, supported the superstructure, or parapet. The history of it is this. At the time that the rood-loft perished this timber was chosen to be utilised in the constructing of a dwelling-house near the east end of the church, to which fortunate chance is to be ascribed its having been saved, whilst all the rest of the rood-loft to which it had belonged met with destruction. In this situation, then, the breastsummer remained for a great number of years. It was not hidden from view, for its presence became known to antiquaries in the neighbourhood, who kept an eye upon

it until, some ten years ago, the group of cottages into which it had been built was demolished. It was then recovered for the parish, and fixed for safety in its present position in the church. The existing length, 15 feet 2 inches, clearly represents but a portion of the original dimension. And yet, fragment though it be, its importance it would be difficult to over-rate. Not only does the bold relief of the ornament, all cut from the solid, constitute a handsome decoration in itself, but, further, it is of such architectonic character as to afford an index of the general design of the loft-front. Waving stems of vine, with leaves and grape bunches starting from under a central bracket-corbel, expand at regular intervals into lesser corbels. Of these the greater portion of five on either side of the central corbel are left; but it is certain that, when complete, the breastsummer comprised more of them, possibly making a total of six on either hand, to support statues of the twelve Apostles with a figure of our Lord in the midst. At fixed intervals, *i.e.*, half-way between the brackets, the stem breaks out into a smaller group of leaves. From the latter, which have a slight projection, vertical divisions would run up between the statues to divide the loft-front into a series of panels, or niches, each crowned with tabernacle work overhead to correspond with the brackets at the foot. Along the top of the breastsummer, a short way from the back, a narrow groove running from end to end has been sunk. The object of this was to take the bottom edge of the flat boarding that would form the background to the figures. Would only that Pugin had known of this breast-summer! For the modern chancel-screen, designed by him, is an entirely conjectural affair, much too light and pretty to be accepted as a substitute for the screen that must actually have stood here in the past, as the massive grandeur of the recovered breastsummer abundantly proves. There is nothing like the Winwick breastsummer

in the county, but another example *in situ* at Mobberley, in Cheshire, bears enough similarity to it to suggest that the design of both may possibly have been the outcome of some local school or tradition.

NOTE.—I have pleasure in thanking the Dean, Right Rev. Bishop Welldon, and the Rev. Chapter of Manchester for allowing me to inspect, though I failed to persuade them to let me photograph and measure any of the screenwork in the Collegiate Church. My thanks are due to Rev. Canon Grenside and Rev. H. Hudson for valuable notes, and to those clergy, too numerous to name, who have afforded me every facility I could desire, in churches from end to end of the county. I wish also to express my gratitude for facilities and help afforded me by the Head Librarians and various officials at Lancaster, at Liverpool, and at the four libraries of Manchester, viz.: the University, Rylands, Chetham, and Public Library. To Mr. Charles W. Sutton, Librarian of the last-named institution, I am under special obligations. Mr. George Rowbotham furnished me with notes which have been of very great service to me on the subject of Manchester Screens. Mr. W. H. St. John Hope placed his unrivalled resources at my disposal in the matter of Furness Abbey; from him, as also from Mr. R. E. Kellett Rigbye, I received much help in elucidating the heraldry at Middleton. For three of my illustrations I am indebted to the kindness of Rev. E. Manners Sanderson, of Mr. W. D. Caröe, F.R.I.B.A., and of Dr. G. Granville Buckley, respectively; a fourth one is the copyright of Messrs. Grundy, Manchester.

AYMER VALLANCE.

OLD WIDNES AND THE NEIGHBOURING MERSEY SIDE

By C. Richard Lewis, M.A.

"OLD WIDNES" appears to be what the logicians call a contradiction in terms. The modern town is almost entirely a product of the nineteenth century, and its huge manufactories of chemicals, soap, copper, iron, and what not, remind us merely of the modern industries. But for all that, the ground on which Widnes stands has a very ancient history. Old Farnworth, now included within the borough boundaries, has something to say for itself; and just outside the borough, on either side, without going anywhere above five miles from the river Mersey, are antiquities of sorts which bring the mind along from Saxon, Dane, and Norman to the early days of the chemical pioneers—the Deacons, Gossages, Hutchinsons, and others, who laid the foundations of the smoky little chemical metropolis. Widnes is not entirely without its family history.

The town itself is built on what was originally, in pre-glacial days, the bed of a much wider and deeper river Mersey, as was explained by Mr. Mallard Reade, C.E., in "The Buried Valley of the Mersey" (a paper read before the Liverpool Geological Society in 1873), from borings taken on the site of the existing works. It would appear that the older river ran between the present works of Messrs. W. Gossage & Sons and the Sullivan Works of the United Alkali Co., to the depth of nearly one hundred and fifty feet, whereas the rock

is now, in the much narrower channel of Runcorn gap, nowhere deeper than twenty-seven or twenty-eight feet at high tide. The ancient river-bed is nowadays completely filled with drift sands, clays, and soils, which cover the sandstone course to varying depths; but in the old days was a steep gorge and the path of a great and noble river. Short of these borings, with their interesting geological story, there is little to tell of pre-Saxon Widnes. An arrow-head of flint was discovered some time ago at Pex Hill, where the abundant supply of pure rock-water in which the town delights is stored; and other stone implements have been unearthed at Ditton, doubtless the work of some post-glacial savage; but to all seeming neither Neolithic man nor the much more historical Celt has left us any indications of value. The place-names of the immediate neighbourhood—Widnes, Farnworth, Cuerdley, Appleton, Ditton, Cronton, Hale, Tarbock—are good Saxon at all events, or with the merest tinge of Danish. There is some doubt about the strict meaning of the Danish word "Widnes," as to whether it means "wide-ness" or wide promontory, which the present site of West Bank hardly deserves to be called, or "wood-ness," from the luxuriant forests of the older Mersey side. But as an old term for Widnes, frequently heard some fifty or sixty years ago, was "Woodend," I incline to the latter view. Saxon and Danish Widnes, again, has left us nothing to make history withal but a pair of Danish semi-circular entrenchments on the Cuerdley Marsh, if indeed they are rightly deciphered by the antiquary, and are not some accident of nature.

With the Normans, however, Widnes becomes a barony, expressly created, as it would seem, to keep an eye on the barony of Halton, in Cheshire, opposite, where the castle is not yet entirely demolished. Roger Poictou, the friend of the Conqueror and Lord of the Honour of Lancaster, was the first personage in history to give

our Widnes a name and a fame. The Widnes barony was extensive, and went so far from the "passagio" of the Mersey (meaning the narrow part between Runcorn and Widnes used for many hundreds of years as a ferry) as to include Sutton, Eccleston, Knowsley, Huyton, and Roby. The first baron was a certain Yorfrid, and, sadly enough, he was also the last, as he left two daughters only, the elder of whom married the son of the second baron of Halton. The third baron of Halton, in Cheshire, called himself, proudly, Baron of Halton and Widnes, and secured peaceable control of the lands which the barony of Widnes had been expressly created to prevent his acquiring. The absence of any vestige of a castle at Widnes is explained by this marriage of William, son of Nigel. He had one son, William, who died childless.

Thus it was that a stranger, Eustace Fitz-John, by marriage with the sister of the late baron, became fifth baron of Halton and third head of the combined baronies. He was Constable of Cheshire when he died fighting against the Welsh in 1157. Richard Fitz-Eustace followed his father, and was succeeded in his turn by a son, John, who is of interest in that he fought nobly in the Crusades, and was the first to set the Widnes and Runcorn ferry in orderly system somewhere about 1180. A second charter relating to the ferry is dated 1190. Roger Fitz-John, who adopted the surname Lacy, but was known also by the sobriquet of "Hell," fought alongside Richard I. at Acre. John Lacy, the eighth baron, was at Runymede, and through his second wife acquired the earldom of Lincoln, the residence of the family being thus transferred in some measure to Lincoln from Halton. Edmund Lacy, the ninth baron, graced the court of Henry III. Lastly, Henry de Lacy, tenth baron of Halton and Widnes, Earl of Lincoln, Lord of Denbigh, with the great house in London still called Lincoln's Inn, left a daughter, Alice, who married

Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, upon whose treason the barony of Widnes and all that was in it passed to the custody of the Crown. These barons of Halton were no small men, it is pleasing to read. They were a warlike race, men of mark in the wars and, to some purpose, in statecraft, and bore a worthy share in the striving Plantagenet English life.

It will be understood that the manor of Widnes, as distinct from the barony, was much smaller, and of itself not very important. Its population would be extremely small. But manor there was, including the hamlets of Appleton and Upton (whose etymologies doubtless give their simple history), and by charter of enfranchisement in the twenty-third of Edward III., the inhabitants of the manor were released from villenage, granted a "halmote" court of their own, with the customary feudal rites of common pasture and turbary, and the customary feudal dues to the holder of the Duchy. There are still a few copyhold tenants in Widnes, and still a fair amount of marsh or ley, such as doubtless formed the old common pasturage. The Duchy Records contain notices from time to time of the activities of the Widnes "halmote" in the cause of justice, a few only of which have been printed; and only the legal stewards of the manor have any knowledge of the fine material for a local history hidden away in the court-leet records of Halton and Farnworth (where the Widnes halmote was generally held), which are now in the Record Office in London.

But just where the township of Widnes itself begins to lose interest and magnitude, the outlying townships develop a history of their own. The locality is concerned mainly with some half-dozen families—the Bolds of Bold, the Irelandes of the Hutte and Hale, the Appletons of Appleton, the Tarbocks of Tarbock, the Ditchfields of Ditton, the Smyths of Peel House, and so forth, whose histories cross and re-cross in a myriad records of

documents, parchments, letters, scrolls, and lists. Nearest to Widnes is the little village of Appleton, now a ward of the borough, where the Appleton family, whose cognisance was three pine-apples, lived at Appleton Hall, a small rough-built mansion of stone and wood, with a stone-flagged roof, and with later additions of brick, as appears from photographs still extant of the old place before its demolition. The first entry in the fine old vestry books of Farnworth church, still in a happy state of preservation, records the baptism of "Ellen Appulton" in 1538, and Mr. W. P. Barker printed in 1881 a list of Appletons who had paid subsidies under the Tudors and Stuarts, or who had made themselves conspicuous in various lawsuits in the Duchy Courts; which, with the frequent recurrence of the name in the parish registers at Farnworth, would lead us to believe the Appletons a typical family of English gentry, with a fund of good sense and no claims whatever to genius, making the best of their conservative way till the old stock died out in the course of nature. Opposite the site of Appleton Hall stands the entrance to Tithebarn Street, a wretched little court of untidy small houses, but previous to 1836 the scene in harvest-time of the annual tithe-garnering, and no doubt of much busy merriment and quaint old business. The whole district of Appleton, with its Roman Catholic church of St. Bede, its many old cottages, its village street, and memories of Appleton Hall aforesaid, and of a later mansion, Appleton House, the home of the Deacon family, now also demolished, has a more picturesque look and old-world flavour than the newer industrial part of the town. Leading from Appleton Street are Deacon Road, recalling the name of Henry Deacon, a pioneer of the chemical industry, and Birchfield Road, which joins Derby Road in Farnworth, whence a return to Appleton may be made by Peelhouse Lane.

Peel House has also unfortunately been rased to the ground, though to say truth, it had had its day, and there is little chance for an old family mansion in an industrial town when once the great family itself is extinct or has imperceptibly drifted away. It was at Peel House that the most important of historical Widnesians, since the old barons, was born and passed his childhood—the celebrated William Smyth, Bishop of Lincoln, founder of Farnworth Grammar School in 1507, of Brasenose College, Oxford, 1509, and Chancellor of the University of Oxford in his later years. Born about 1460, he was the fourth son of Robert Smyth, of Peel

PEEL HALL, FROM AN OLD ENGRAVING.

House, whose father, Henry, lived a mile or two away at Cuerdley. According to Anthony à Wood, "he was trained up in grammar learning in his own county"—where, does not appear, though it may have been under the tutelage of the Prescot or Farnworth clergy; or, again, in the household of Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, at Knowsley, through whom the young Smyth was introduced to Henry VII., Prince Arthur, Prince Henry, and other notables of the court. Smyth became, successively, Clerk of the Hanaper in Chancery; Vicar of Coombe Martin, in Devonshire; Rector of Great Grimsby; Dean of St. Stephen's, Westminster; Bishop of Lichfield (then including Chester and the county of Lancaster); and Bishop of Lincoln. He was also Lord

President of Wales. Wheresoever this good man went, says Fuller, "he may be followed by the perfume of charity he left behind him."

Of all his charities, Farnworth people remember two with thankful gratitude. One was the provision in the old church of a "Cuerdley Chapel," opposite the chapel of the Bolds, for the good folk of Cuerdley, together with a right of way over the fields from Cuerdley to the church. The other was the endowment of an apparently existing Farnworth school, by which it was converted in 1507 into a grammar school, and endowed with an annual sum of £10, to be paid to "a sufficient and honest priest, being a Maister or Bachyler of Art or a Maister of Grammar at the leaste, able and willinge to teach, and teaching grammar freely in the ffree school of ffarnworth in the countie of Lancaster for ever." Not, alas! for ever, for the last headmaster of Farnworth Grammar School, the writer of this present chapter, was content to see it closed, at the end of four hundred years of chequered life, and amalgamated with the modern municipal secondary school at Widnes near by, which, with all the advantages of numbers, rates, grants, and Government assistance, was leaving very little room—and very little reason either—for a struggling grammar school in the outskirts of a smoky industrial town. But Farnworth Grammar School has had a highly interesting history. I have told in another place of the good bishop's manner of bequest—how he assisted the convent of Laund, in Leicestershire, by a gift of £350, to secure the rectorial tithes of Rostherne, in Cheshire, on condition that the prior and convent paid annually to the Mayor and Corporation of Chester the sum of £10, to go annually to the grammar school master at Farnworth; how the bishop himself appointed the first headmaster, Sir Thomas Hatton, who was buried in the old church in 1542, and decided that the Corporation of Chester should appoint in future; how Matthew Smyth, first

principal of Brasenose College, enriched the school with a grant of land at Sutton; how Farnworth scholars went to Brasenose, and Brasenose teachers (some four or five of them at least in succession) were masters at Farnworth; how the Bolds and Irelands and Ditchfields and Lancasters interested themselves in the appointment of master; how the school produced an archbishop in the person of John Bancroft's son, Richard, who was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1604 to 1610, and chairman of the body of scholars who produced our authorised version of the Bible; how the Chester patronage ceased about 1665, and the government of the school was vested in trustees representative of different parts of the chapelry; how the Plumpton family added further benefactions in land; how some of the masters were men of honour and credit, and others, woefully enough, like the Reverend Francis Wilcoxon of the eighteenth century, who "fuddled" and forgot to open school, and saw his roll reduced to three boys, were men of dishonour and discredit; and of the vicissitudes to which this dearly-loved and ancient foundation was always partial. At length it became impossible to carry on the school with reasonable financial success. The governors of 1879, who followed the older trustees, could make no headway, and the master and his remaining scholars migrated to the Widnes school in 1906 with an encouragement of four centuries of tradition to a fresh work in pastures new.

Throughout the time of the Chester patronage the school was held in the parish church, the master himself in his clerical capacity probably acting also as a sort of curate or reader in the regular services. Certain it is that payments of an annual twenty shillings to the grammar school master "for reading in church the second lesson" are recorded in the parish books. In all likelihood the "Cuerdley Chapel" formed the original grammar school. It is simply an addition to the south

side of the church, without screen or other inside boundary, and would have served the purpose of a day-school admirably. Moreover, it has a door of its own leading to the churchyard, which the more beautiful chapel of the Bolds on the north side has not. But both chapel and school are very considerably later than the foundation of the old church itself, which stands exactly on the highest spot in its locality, whence the ground retires on all sides in a gentle slope. It was in need of repair so far back as 1431, when William Harrington, seneschal of Halton for the King, directed the keeper of his park of Northwood to furnish an oak for the repair of Farnworth Church. Mr. Charles Poole, whose book on *Old Widnes and its Neighbourhood* is the chief authority for this article, has argued from this that the church was originally built by the Halton lords, and not by the Bold family, as local tradition would have it, though in later times the Bolds added their own chapel to the north side, and were greatly attached to the old fane. But all that can be said is that in the thirteenth century, or possibly the twelfth, a simple building, without aisles or chancel arch, was erected to serve as a chapel of ease to Prescot. There would be a rood-screen to divide the chancel from the body of the chapel.

Successive additions and alterations have been of great interest. The north nave came first, and, strange to say, the arcade was built, not on the line of the old external wall, but some six feet to the north of it. At the same time, apparently, the south wall was also destroyed, and a new wall built some six feet to the north again. In other words, the chapel, about 1300, so far as may be gathered from the masonry and architectural proportions, was almost entirely rebuilt, and moved two yards further to the north. It has been mentioned that the name Farnworth really means "ferre north," or "farther north," and was assigned to the

chapel on this account; but the etymology is perhaps fanciful, and doubtless it is safer to keep to the Anglo-Saxon "fern-farm," from "fearn" and "weorthig." In the time of transition to the Perpendicular style, a south aisle was added to the nave, and the whole enriched by the building of the present tower, the old west wall being built over for this latter purpose; and here again it is strange to find that the tower is not built in geometrical harmony with the present nave, but with the earlier one, which was some six feet to the south. We are unfortunately without guide to the actual date of these extensions, and of the Bold chapel on the north side, also added, as so many other "chantries" were in various parts of the land, about this time. Two facts would appear to stand out: first, that Sir John Bold, who added the chantry, was the son of Richard Bold, knighted by Edward III. in 1371; and second, that by 1431 repairs were necessary to keep the church building in order.

The chancel, again, with its fine east window, and a roof of lower pitch than that of the nave, necessitating a chancel arch at the junction, is of later date, towards the close of the Perpendicular period. The old east wall, and much of the old bench-furniture of the church, was used as a foundation for the new chancel floor, as was discovered during the very fine and complete restoration of 1894-5. Unhappily, the traceries and mouldings were past conserving. Meantime, between these two periods had occurred the unbeautiful day of high pews, plastered walls, galleries, and dusty, germ-harbouring seat-mattresses, when the real beauty of the edifice was generally obscured under a pall of dingy whitewash. The old woodwork, enriched with curious carvings and names of ancient date, has been used as far as possible in the wainscotting of the present walls.

There is, among the Pleadings in the Duchy Court of Lancaster, under date 2 and 3 Philip and Mary

(1556-7), a curious record concerning Farnworth church, where one of the wardens, John Woodfall by name, is accused by Richard Bold and Miles Gerard, "informants for the King," of detaining unlawfully "oone greate Rancke of Iron curiously wroughte," "30 fote" long, worth some £8, and originally used in Farnworth church as a lamp-stand before the Holy Sacrament. It had been "imbesilled" by the said John. Woodfall claimed, however, that he and his brother wardens had had the rank "wayed" by Robert Marshe, the blacksmith, and had bought it from themselves at the then current rate of one penny per lb., he himself taking twenty-six pounds, for which he duly paid 2s. 2d. The money thus secured had gone to the church expenses, particularly for "glasynge," there being no other obvious way of securing sufficient income. This particular rank would seem to have been part at least of the ancient rood-screen, and was at this time lying idle and rusty in the rood-loft, along with other neglected smaller ranks. Mainly, the trial of Woodfall is interesting for the names of the witnesses, whose depositions remain. They include Sir William Norres, Knight, of Speke, Richard Bold, Myles Gerrard, John Appleton, Thomas Assheton, and Thomas Smyth, the latter one of the family of Peel House, which had given to Farnworth its greatest name.

The account of Randle Holme, who visited the church in 1635, mentions an inscription in the east window—"Orate pro Will Smyth." The arms of Bold of Bold, of Ashton of Penketh, of the diocese of Lichfield, of the Ditchfields of Ditton, were displayed in the church, the griffin of the Bolds largely predominating. In the Bold chapel were the "monument made for Richard, father of Sir Thomas Bold, and stood in the middle of the chappell, and is a man in armor holding a booke between his hands, praying, but on building the seate in the chapell it was removed and reared up to the

wall, weare now it standeth"; and also "a brass on a grave-stone for Richard Bold." These both remain to adorn the new chapel of 1855, as also a very fine monument and inscription to Mary, daughter of Peter Patten Bold, who was the wife of the Polish Prince Sapieha when she died in 1824, at the early age of twenty-nine; and a further monument, by Chantrey, in memory of Peter Patten Bold himself, erected in 1823, representing a beautiful female figure weeping over a sarcophagus.

From the church to the great house of the Bolds is a natural transition, which at one time, so the old stories tell us, could be made underground, though the subterranean highway is now completely lost. In a Latin inscription to one of the family in the Bold chapel we are asked to respect the remains of one who handed on the glories of an ancient family, transmitted as they were from generation to generation since the Norman Conquest, unsullied, and, indeed, with an added lustre. The Bolds, in short, date back to King William, if not indeed to his predecessor, Edward the Confessor. They enjoyed an unbroken succession in the male line for several centuries, the achievement of the house in Gregson's *Fragments* containing the record to the year 1613, whence the direct line is easily continued to the last male, Peter Bold, who died in 1762. Peter Bold's second daughter, Dorothea, married the eldest son of Thomas Patten, of Bank, at Warrington, whose family age and story might vie with her own, her husband taking the name of Bold. But, again, Peter Patten Bold died without a son. The estates passed to the eldest daughter, Princess Sapieha, who died without issue in 1824, whereupon they fell to the Bold Hoghtons, of Hoghton Tower, into which family the princess's younger sister had married. Still another sister married John Wilson Patten, afterwards Lord Winmarleigh.

The Bold estate is now the property of a commercial syndicate. The fine new hall of 1730 (from the designs of an Italian architect, Leoni) was entirely demolished some five years ago, and all that remains of the celebrated Old Hall is now a farmhouse, still moat-surrounded, but only perhaps one-twentieth the size of the Tudor mansion, when the Bolds were second only in the whole county in muster-strength to the Earl of Derby at Knowsley. Their powerful neighbours, the Irelands of the Hutte and Hale, joined with the Blackburnes of Bewsey and Orford, have had a happier fate; the ancient line of Ireland-Blackburne still flourishes at Hale. But, like the Bolds, the greater number of the old families have died away. The families of Denton, Ditchfield, Watkins, of Ditton; the Appletons, the Penketh's, the Tarbocks, the Ashtons; the lords of Crowton, Crownton, or Cronton, still a pleasant little village, with a cross, an old pair of stocks, a hall, and a number of ancient township records; the Norrises, of Speke and Liverpool; the Smyths, of Peel House and Cuerdley—all these would seem to have no important local survival. But sufficient evidence remains to show that the gentry of this part of the county were no whit behind their fellow-Lancastrians in armorial dignity, in family honour, in character and attainment. The "once fair Widnes" has had its day, though one would hardly seek for evidence of antiquity and romance within the confines of the twentieth century borough.

HOGHTON TOWER

By F. H. Cheetham

HOGHTON TOWER has been described, "alike in itself, its surroundings, and its memories," as a symbol of the history of English civilization and English art, recalling more vividly than perhaps any other house in the kingdom the characteristics of English life and society in the age of Elizabeth and James I.[1] There is little or no exaggeration in these words, and it might further be added that the story of Hoghton Tower—"the heart of all the shire"—forms almost an epitome of the civil and religious life of Lancashire during the long period of change and unrest from the end of the sixteenth to the beginning of the eighteenth century. No county perhaps was so divided in its opinions on religious and political matters during the time of the Civil War and in the years which led up to it as Lancashire, and at Hoghton Tower the memories that yet linger round the building are peculiarly interesting, the religious tradition of the house embracing Catholic, Anglican, and Nonconformist memories which are rarely found attached to one and the same place. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth the Hoghtons remained true to the ancient faith, and in testimony of that faith Thomas Hoghton, the builder of the Tower, had to fly the kingdom, and died in exile. His half-brother, also Thomas Hoghton, was writ down a Papist and ill-affected to the State. But the

1 Bishop Creighton, *Magazine of Art*, vol. x., 1887.

Drawn by G. Pickering. HOGHTON TOWER. *Engraved by J. Kernot.*

Catholic tradition was not sustained, the son of a "harbourer of priests and recusants" avowed himself a Protestant, and entertained the most high and mighty Prince James himself. Two generations of Hoghtons held to Church and King, but then gave way to successors who made the name of Hoghton one of the bulwarks of Lancashire Nonconformity. So great a change in family traditions within so short a period is not common, but it gives the house an interest, apart from its architectural merits as a building, shared by none in the county, and by few in the whole of the kingdom.

The situation of Hoghton Tower is very striking, the mansion standing boldly on the top of a hill between Preston and Blackburn, "seeking no shelter, making no attempt at concealment." It is a prominent object in the landscape for miles around, and the prospect from the top of the entrance tower is very fine, embracing the hills of the Lake District and those of Wales, with the great south-west Lancashire plain stretched beneath, beyond which, a silver streak, lies the Irish Sea. On its north and east sides the hill is precipitous, and on the east the river Darwen passes at its base through a deep, wooded ravine. On the west it slopes gradually, and from this side the house is approached. The tower hill reaches to a height of considerably over five hundred feet above the sea level, and is about four hundred feet above the land immediately below.

Dr. Kuerden, a local antiquary, writing at the end of the seventeenth century, said:

> This tower was build in Queen Elizabeth's raigne by one Tho. Houghton who translated this manor-house, formerly placed below the hill nere unto the waterside. . . . This stately fabric is environed with a most spacious park, which in former times was so full of timber that a man passing through it could scarce have seen the sun shine at middle of day: but of later days most of it has been destroyed. It was much replenished with wild beasts, as wild boars and bulls of a white spangled colour and red deer in great plenty, the last as yet preserved for game by the lords thereof.
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> T ii.

This story about the transference of the house from the bottom to the top of the hill has often been repeated, and the initials T.H., with the date 1565, over the inner gateway confirm Dr. Kuerden's statement that the Tower was built by Thomas Hoghton in Elizabeth's reign. It has been questioned, however, whether the house built by Thomas Hoghton was a new building "translated" to the top of the hill from a former site near the river, the theory being put forward that the manor-house of the Hoghtons always stood on its present site, and was merely rebuilt by Thomas Hoghton in 1565. There seems, however, no substantial reason for doubting Dr. Kuerden's statement, though no records or remains of an older building at the bottom of the hill are known to exist. The evidence of the present building, however, though showing it to have been erected at different times, does not support the view that an older house was rebuilt in Elizabeth's reign, the detail in no part suggesting an earlier date than the middle or end of the sixteenth century. The date 1565 and the initials T.H. over the inner gateway apparently indicate the completion of a good deal of building, which is known to have been going on for some years previously. The next actual dates are those on the barn erected by Sir Charles Hoghton in 1692, and the range of buildings on the south side of the lower courtyard, which were erected in 1700.

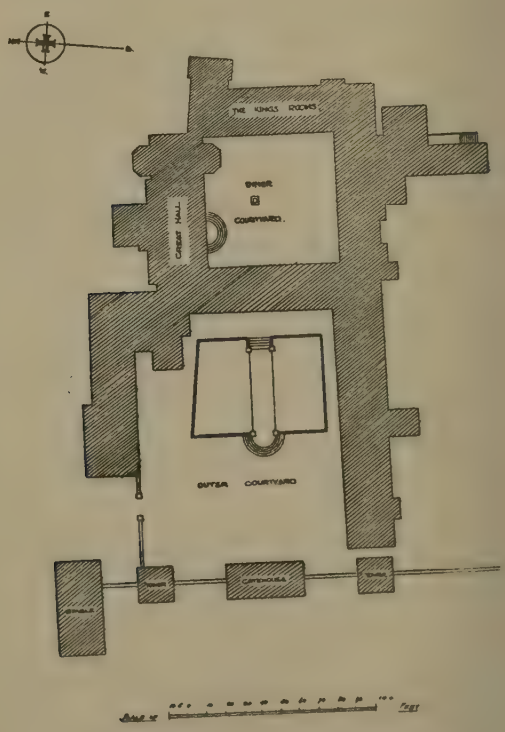
Building operations were going on in 1562-3. In that year (5 Elizabeth) Thomas Hoghton petitioned the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster as plaintiff in a suit against Bernard Townley and Ralph Holden, stating that he "hathe enterprysed and begun to buylde a Howse" upon Hoghton Hill, and had accumulated building materials for that purpose, and that on November 1st, 1561, he had entered into an agreement with Bernard Townley, a waller and hewer of stone, that he should, for a space of two years at least, and

longer if necessary, until the intended buildings were finished, direct the building operations. Townley entered on his duties, but worked for less than one year. Then he was enticed away, and induced to break his agreement with Mr. Hoghton by one Ralph Holden, Esq., of Holden Hall, in Haslingden. Townley "departed suddenly" from Hoghton without reasonable occasion, and was retained by Ralph Holden, who evidently offered him better pay, and persuaded him to break his contract with Mr. Hoghton. A stoppage of the works for many weeks ensued, and so much damage was caused to the ground and to the half-built walls by the weather, that Thomas Hoghton was forced to appeal for redress. The result of his appeal does not transpire, nor does it very much matter. The document here cited[1] shows, however, that the building of Hoghton Tower was begun at the end of 1561 or the beginning of 1562. The works must have been resumed shortly after the date of the appeal, if they were finished, as appears to have been the case, in 1565.

The whole extent of the work then completed cannot now be determined, but it may have followed very much the lines of the house as we see it to-day. The main feature of the original house, the great tower over the inner gateway, however, has now disappeared, and its loss deprives the building of a distinction and picturesqueness which must have made it formerly absolutely supreme in the county. The lower courtyard at this time would only be enclosed by buildings at its upper or east end, with a short return north and south. On the west side would be the gateway and its supporting towers, joining by the protecting wall, as at present. The north and south sides of the court would be enclosed

[1] Pleading in the Chancery Court of the Duchy of Lancaster, Public Record Office, London. Quoted by W. A. Abram in *Preston Guardian*, 1st March, 1884, and reprinted in *Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Notes*, vol. I., 201.

simply by long fence-walls or by stables and outbuildings. The stable now partly within and partly without the enclosure of the lower court may have been built in anticipation of the royal visit in 1617; the large barn,



GROUND PLAN OF HOGHTON TOWER.

further south, entirely outside the line of building, was erected, as already stated, in 1692, and the buildings south of the lower court eight years later.

This roughly gives the story of the building of Hoghton Tower, the appearance of which at the end of

the seventeenth century, after the destruction of the inner gatehouse tower, would not be very different from what it is at present. Its surroundings, however, have been much changed, and the park is now seen under a very different aspect from that which greeted the eyes of King James and his train. Dr. Kuerden's description of the park in former times, and of its subsequent destruction, has already been quoted, but what he meant by the term, "of later days," can only be surmised. Probably a change came over the deer forest with the advent of Puritan masters to Hoghton Tower. But before this, and before King James's visit, the destruction had begun. Some of the trees were cut down for the purpose of building the Tower itself, as is proved by a lawsuit which Thomas Hoghton had with two of his neighbours for converting to their own use some of his trees which had been felled, but which had been swept down the river Darwen by a flood to Walton. Dr. Creighton says:

> When Hoghton Tower was built nothing could be seen save the gateway tower peeping out among the forest, which embosomed the house on every side. The forest was felled when Hoghton Tower was neglected, and when the hill side had once been cleared it was found difficult to allure young trees to their deserted habitation. Originally a fine avenue of trees fringed the road that led to the house, and it long survived when the forest had disappeared: but the day came when the avenue also disappeared, and left as the sole memories of its presence the two gateposts of stone which marked the fence that separated the entrance from the adjoining park.

A picture of Hoghton Tower, said to belong to the year 1700, shows "two long rows of formally cut trees, perhaps forty or fifty yards apart, making an avenue extending down the hill westward to the juncture of the drive with the old road from Blackburn to Preston."

The house seems to have been abandoned for Walton Hall about the year 1710, and during the eighteenth century was allowed to fall to ruin and decay. It is said to have been let in tenements to families of weavers,

who tore down the wainscot for firewood. Britton, in his *Description of Lancashire*, published in 1807, writing of Hoghton Tower, says:

> Within the last few years the roof of the gallery and some of its walls have fallen prostrate, though some parts of this ancient and extensive building are inhabited by a few families of the lower class. The building is falling to decay, and presents to view an object at once picturesque, grand, melancholy, and venerable.

It was still in this state when it was visited in 1854 by Charles Dickens, who introduced it into one of his short stories—"George Silverman's Explanation"—where he calls it Hoghton Towers. As a boy George Silverman lives at the Tower, a child of one of those "families of the lower class" mentioned by Britton, and his description of the old house, with its "floors and ceilings falling, and the beams and rafters hanging dangerously down," is a vivid and arresting picture of ruin and destruction which makes one realise better almost than could any painting on canvas the contrast between the building of that day and this. Amid all this ruin, however, the walls remained standing and not very much injured, so that no great rebuilding of the fabric itself was necessary in the restoration. The restoration was begun by Sir Henry de Hoghton, the ninth baronet, continued by his brother, Sir Charles, and brought to a conclusion in 1901 by the present baronet, Sir James de Hoghton. The later restoration was carried out by Mr. R. D. Oliver, architect, of London, who has so admirably caught the spirit of the old building that Hoghton Tower may be cited as a perfect example of what a restoration should be.

If Hoghton Tower were a new house on a new site in 1560, it is probable that ambition and pride of family had their share in the choice of so commanding a position. The house would be a proud challenge to the neighbourhood, and if defensive considerations were also taken

into account they were of secondary importance. The latter half of the sixteenth century was not a time when men built towers of strength to resist attack. Probably no one at that time foresaw the Civil War, and though the disposition and appearance of the building in some measure suggest ideas of defence, the house is really a dwelling and not a castle, a home and not a fortress. As Dr. Creighton says:

> It was not meant to harbour a crowd of retainers, but to be the home of an opulent country gentleman, where he dispensed becoming hospitality to his friends and neighbours.

It belongs to the Renaissance and not to the Middle Ages, and is a very good example of the English architecture of the period. This was a time when men were building themselves lordly pleasure-houses. Wollaton, Longleat, Hardwick Hall, and other great houses, belong to this period. The influence of the Italian Renaissance so apparent in some English houses is unfelt in others. It was probably a matter of wealth obtaining the best services of foreign artists and architects. But such houses as Hoghton Tower show very little foreign influence, and what there is belongs to the sixteenth century—in the old porch on the north side, and in the detail of the panel over the entrance gateway. But, generally speaking, it is English work, and probably Lancashire work. The mediæval tradition and methods of building died hard in some parts of the country, and south-west Lancashire was not then easily accessible. The Gothic tradition would probably die as slowly here as at Haddon Hall, Derbyshire (which has often, without much reason, been compared with Hoghton Tower), where mediæval forms are used right into Renaissance times. So Hoghton retains much of the appearance of the architecture of a former day. The battlements, however, were built rather for ornament than defence, and the towers to please rather than to threaten.

The comparison of Hoghton Tower with Haddon Hall is rather unfortunate, as there is really not very much in common between the two buildings, and it would not be referred to here were it not for the fact that many years ago, in one of the volumes of the Chetham Society,[1] an amazingly incorrect description of Hoghton Tower is given, and the arrangement declared to be similar to that at Haddon. The writer was Mr. George Shaw, a well-known Lancashire architect of his day; but his remarks would perhaps be hardly worth noticing were it not that they are included in the publications of a Society which, as a rule, are to be relied on for accuracy. They have, however, evidently inspired later writers in the same field, and reference to the Lancashire house not infrequently leads to mention of its resemblance to Haddon Hall. It is true that both houses are built round an upper and a lower court. It is true that the long sides of the house in each case face north and south. But there the likeness stops, except perhaps as regards the survival of the old building tradition already mentioned. But since a comparison of the two buildings has been referred to, it may be interesting to note that Hoghton Tower occupies more ground than Haddon Hall. The length of the buildings from west to east is about three hundred feet; their width from north to south about two hundred and fifty feet. The corresponding figures at Haddon are about two hundred and fifty feet and one hundred and fifty feet. One cannot help but think that these comparisons of Hoghton Tower with the Derbyshire house are instituted for the sake of adding to the renown and reputation of the Lancashire mansion. If that is so, it is really no good reason at all. Hoghton Tower has beauty and interest enough of its own. If it does not, like Haddon, provide an epitome of English domestic architecture, it can at any rate claim to have

[1] *The Journal of Nicholas Assheton*, edited by Canon Raines, vol. xiv., 1848.

From a Water-colour Drawing] HOGHTON TOWER COURTYARD. *[by T. C. Bucklee.*

played a more notable part in the history of the county than ever Haddon did in the history of Derbyshire. To this day the visit of James I. to Hoghton Tower is remembered all over Lancashire, although that monarch in his progress through the county stayed at other houses than this—at Lathom, amongst others. But who knows anything about James I. at Lathom? "The traditions and legends of this royal visit still popular in the county," says the historian of Lancashire Nonconformity, "are all associated with Hoghton. Whatever wise or foolish things the King said and did in Lancashire are reported, truly or falsely, to have been said or done there."[1] King James's visit, with all its pageants and carousings, and the capture of the Tower by Captain Starkie in 1643 for the Parliament, are events in the history of the building which appeal to the imagination. Nothing ever happened at Haddon except perhaps that one happening of Dorothy Vernon's elopement, which, even if it be true, can hardly be said to be an event of any historic importance. But at Hoghton there is no strain on the imagination. King James did sit at the table in the hall; Captain Starkie and his men really were blown up with gunpowder, though the capture of Hoghton Tower by the Parliamentary forces was not a great feat of arms, and hardly worthy of the name of attack, much less that of siege.

Since the completion of the restoration, Hoghton Tower has, of course, lost something of that ruinous beauty that neglect and decay always produce. But if the interior is nearly a new house, the exterior is still full of a sturdy, old-world charm. There is something strong and masculine about the building. It is not devoid of ornament, but the ornament has been distributed judiciously and sparingly. The walls are of hard grey stone, and the roofs are covered with stone slates. The

[1] *Lancashire: Its Puritanism and Nonconformity*, by Robert Halley, 1869.

buildings are low, and seem to sit tight on the hill-top, but their broken roof-line stands out boldly against the sky, and when the great central tower rose its full height must have formed a picture of most impressive grandeur.

James I. at Hoghton Tower

The early connection of the Hoghton family with Hoghton is obscure. Warin Bussel, baron of Penwortham, gave two carucates of land in Heaton-in-Lonsdale and Elston to a Hamon, or Hamlet, le Botelei in free marriage with his daughter. This Hamlet had two sons, Richard and William, and Richard's son, Adam, had some land or lordship in Hoghton, for in 1203 he was known as Adam de Hoghton. He appears to be the first of the name, and left successors, who extended the family possessions; but it was not till the time of a later Sir Adam de Hoghton, who died about 1290, that the family became sole lords of the manor. From that day to the present the list of the lords of Hoghton is complete, but the first with whom we are here concerned is the Thomas Hoghton who lived in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and who has been already mentioned as the builder of the Tower. He was the son of Sir Richard Hoghton, who died in 1559, when he succeeded to the estates. It was about the same time that he was building his new house that he entertained William Allen, afterwards Cardinal, who was visiting Lancashire in order to animate the Catholics in their resistance to the new laws, and he became a resolute opponent of Protestantism. When he was required to conform he refused, and left the country about 1569, shortly after his building of Hoghton Tower was completed, taking refuge in the Low Countries, where he remained until his death in 1580 at Liege, having failed in an attempt to make peace with the Queen. During Reformation times, therefore, the tradition of Hoghton Tower is Catholic, the first Thomas Hoghton suffering under the Elizabethan

persecution,[1] and the second being returned to the Council of Elizabeth as a Papist ill-affected to the State. This second Thomas, a half-brother of the first, was killed in a family quarrel with the Langtons of Walton-le-Dale in November, 1587, an event which had an important influence on the fortunes of the Hoghton family, as shortly afterwards Thomas Langton surrendered the manor of Walton to his victim's heir, Richard.

Richard Hoghton, who was in his twentieth year when his father was killed, married the daughter of Sir Gilbert Gerard, whose ward he had been during his minority. He conformed to the established religion, and was made a knight in 1600, and a baronet at the first creation by James I. in 1611. Though the first of the Hoghtons to avow himself a Protestant, he was no Puritan, as the festivities on the occasion of the royal visit to Hoghton Tower testify, that phase of the religious development of the family being reached in the next generation.

Sir Richard seems to have been a favourite with King James, and on the occasion of the monarch's progress through Lancashire from Scotland to London in 1617, it is not surprising that Hoghton Tower should be chosen as one of his resting places. The King took something like a week to traverse the length of the county. From Kendal, where he stayed two nights, he proceeded through Hornby to Ashton Hall, where he passed his first night in Lancashire. From there he went to Myerscough Lodge, where he was the guest of Mr. Tyldesley, and where he hunted in the forest. On August 15th James made his entry into Preston, where he was received by the Corporation and entertained at a banquet in the Town Hall. From Preston he proceeded the same day to Hoghton Tower, and remained there three days, from

[1] In Harland's *Ballads and Lays of Lancashire* is a ballad which is said to have been written by this Thomas Hoghton when he had to leave his home and country for conscience sake. It is entitled "The Blessed Conscience," and was first printed from the recital of an old fiddler about 1840, but its authenticity is doubtful.

Friday, August 15th, to Monday, August 18th, when he left about midday for Lathom, where he was the guest of the Earl of Derby for two nights. From Lathom the royal party went on to Bewsey, near Warrington, a seat of the Butlers, and from there passed into Cheshire.

That Sir Richard Hoghton was held in high esteem by the King is evident. His name appears in many of the Royal masques and public entertainments, and he evidently had a great liking for such amusements if the Hoghton visit be any criterion of his taste. His son, Gilbert, had been made a knight at the age of fifteen, and at the time of the King's Lancashire progress he was twenty-six years of age, and married to a sister of the Duchess of Buckingham, whose husband accompanied James to Hoghton.

Sir Richard Hoghton made great preparations for his sovereign's reception. The honour, however, had to be paid for, and Sir Richard, at the end of his life, was imprisoned for some years for debt, and a portion of his estates sold to satisfy his creditors. There is a story concerning another Lancashire gentleman at this time—Richard Shuttleworth, of Broughton—that when he heard of the royal progress, he arranged for his house to be burnt down in order to avoid the expense of having to entertain the King. He thought it the cheaper course. Sir Richard Hoghton, however, in 1617, was prepared to entertain his sovereign lavishly, and many of the gentry of Lancashire came to Hoghton Tower to pay honour to King James, and, as the custom was, wore the livery of their host, though "not in the sense of servitude," as Nicholas Assheton records in his *Journal*. Assheton, whose journal gives some exceedingly interesting glimpses of the goings on at Hoghton during the time of the royal visit,[1] is described by Dr. Whitaker

[1] The *Journal* was published in the first instance by Dr. Whitaker in his *History of Whalley* (1800), and afterwards, with voluminous notes by Canon Raines, by the Chetham Society (vol. xiv., 1848).

From a Water-colour Drawing HOGHTON TOWER, NORTH FRONT. *by F. C. Buckler, 1817.*

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as "a young and active man, engaged in all the business and enjoying all the amusements of the country." Harrison Ainsworth, who introduces him into his tale of *The Lancashire Witches*,[1] calls him "a type of the Lancashire squire of his day," and adds, "such a roystering Puritan was never known." It is, however, scarcely more correct to style him a Puritan than so to call Sir Richard Hoghton, who had avowed himself "the first Protestant of the family." Nicholas Assheton was at this time aged twenty-seven, a year older than Sir Richard's son and heir, Sir Gilbert Hoghton. Assheton thus records the King's coming to Preston:

> There, at the Cross, Mr. Bredres, the lawyer, made a speech, and the Corporation presented him (King James) with a bowl; and then the King went to the banquet in the Town Hall, and so away to Hoghton.

From Preston James was attended by an escort of yeomen, who rode before him with fringed javelins as far as Walton, where the royal visitor was met by his host, Sir Richard Hoghton. The King rode in a big, unwieldy carriage, gilded all over, but, from the rough usage it had had, rather the worse for wear. At the end of the great avenue of trees which led up to Hoghton Tower the royal procession paused. The King was received with a flourish of trumpets, and Sir Gilbert Hoghton, with a number of the neighbouring gentlemen, came forward to meet him, and knelt to receive His Majesty's blessing. The King then got on horseback, but clumsily, as he always did, and rode up the avenue, which was lined with purple velvet, to the Tower. When he approached the middle gateway two figures, strangely dressed, came forward to meet him, intended to represent the "household gods." The first of these, "attired in a purple taffeta mantle, in one hand a palm branch, on

[1] The story of King James's visit to Hoghton Tower forms the central feature of the third part of *The Lancashire Witches*, and a description of the building in the ruinous state in which it was at the time the book was written (1848) is given.

his head a garland of the same, and in the other hand a dogge," advanced to the King, and began:

> This day, great King, for government admired,
> Which these thy subjects have so much desired,
> Shall be kept holy in their hearts' best treasure,
> And vowed to James as is this month to Cæsar.
> And now the landlord of this ancient tower
> Thrice fortunate to see this happy hour,
> Whose trembling heart thy presence sets on fire,
> Unto this house (the heart of all the shire)
> Does bid thee hearty welcome, and would speak it
> In higher notes, but extreme joy doth break it.
> He makes his guest most welcome, in whose eyes
> Love-tears do sit, not he that shouts or cries.
> And we the gods and guardians of this place—
> I, of this house, he, of the fruitful chase,
> Now seeing that thy Majesty we see
> Greater than country gods, more good than we,
> We render up to thy more powerful guard
> This house; this knight is thine, he is thy ward;
> For by thy helping and auspicious hand
> He and his house shall ever, ever stand
> And flourish, in despite of envious Fate;
> And then live, like Augustus, fortunate.
> And long, long mayst thou live! to which both men,
> Gods, saints, and angels say Amen, Amen!

The second tutelar god, he of the chase, then began, "Thou greatest of monarchs," when he was "nonplust" and "gloppened," until his brother god relieved him by addressing the King again:

> Dread Lord! the splendour and the glorious ray
> Of thy high Majesty hath strucken dumb
> His weaker godhead; if to himself he come,
> Unto thy service straight he will commend
> These foresters, and charge them to attend
> Thy pleasure in this park and show such sport
> To the chief huntsman and thy princely court
> As the small circuit of this round affords,
> And be more ready than he was in words.

This little comedy, which Nicholas Assheton dismisses with the words, "There [*i.e.*, at Hoghton] a speech made," ended with the two gods unceremoniously turning their backs on the King and entering the house before him.

King James, on entering, was offered a tankard of German wine mixed with rose-water. He took some, but asked for muscadine with eggs. Then he went out and hunted for an hour, killing a stag, which was driven into the teeth of the hounds. Mr. Assheton's *Journal* for this first day of the royal visit concludes: "We attend on the lords' table." The custom then being for each rank to serve those above them—gentlemen waited on noblemen or lords, as lords on the King. So Mr. Assheton and other Lancashire gentlemen waited on the nobles who attended the King to Hoghton. These included George Villiers, Earl (afterwards Duke) of Buckingham, Master of the Horse; the Earl of Richmond, Master of the Household; the Earl of Pembroke, Chamberlain; the Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral; Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord High Steward; the Earl of Bridgewater, Lord Zouch, Lord Compton (afterwards Earl of Northampton), and others; together with the Bishop of Chester (Moreton) and the Judges of the King's Bench. There also accompanied the King about a hundred of the chief gentlemen of the county, and Archy Armstrong, the King's fool, was with his master.

The first full day's doings may be given briefly in the words of Mr. Assheton. It was Saturday, August 16th:

> The King hunting: a great company: killed afore dinner a brace of stags. Very hot; so he went in to dinner. We attend the lords' table, and about four o'clock the king went down to the alum mines,[1] and was there an hour, viewed them precisely, and then went and shot at a stag and missed. Then my Lord Compton had lodged two brace. The King shot again and brake the thigh-bone. A dog long in coming, and my Lord Compton shot again and killed him. Late in to supper.

[1] The alum mines were close to the northern boundary of Hoghton and once formed part of the estate. Their site, now called Alum Scar, is very picturesque. In later days the alum works were held in a joint lease from the Duchy of Lancaster by a Mr. Ramsay and Lady Sarah Hoghton. This lady, in 1658, entered into articles of agreement with a Capt. James Benson to work her portion of the mines, but the speculation proved a ruinous one. The mines, however, seem to have been carried on by others till the middle of the eighteenth century.

The way the King spent Sunday is rather a more interesting story.

Sir Arthur Weldon, in his *Court and Character of James I.*, published in 1650, assures his readers that the King "seldom drank at any time above four spoonfuls, many times not above one or two"; that he was, in fact, a remarkable instance of sobriety. However that may be, it seems certain that his sobriety was hardly a quality imitated by his courtiers. Indeed, it has been said that "the Saturnalia of the Romans appear to have been revived not only at Hoghton, but throughout this reign."[1] There is no note of dignity in any of the accounts preserved of the entertainment of the monarch at Hoghton in August, 1617. "No kingly virtues marked weak James's reign"; and the truth of the words is emphasized in the story of the royal visit to Hoghton Tower.

Mr. Assheton's account of Sunday reads innocently enough:

> We served the lords with biscuit, wine, and jelly. The Bishop of Chester, Dr. Moreton, preached before the king. To dinner. About four o'clock there was a rush-bearing and pipeing before them, afore the king in the middle court. Then to supp. Then, about ten to eleven o'clock, a mask of noblemen, knights, gentlemen, and courtiers before the king in the middle round in the garden. Some speeches: of the rest, dancing the Huckler, Tom Bedlo, and the Cowp Justice of the Peace.

The picture, however, when particulars are gone into, is one of coarseness and buffoonery, so that Dr. Whitaker is constrained to cry out:

> The whole scene, to a feeling and serious mind, is disgusting; a strange mingling of dancing, drinking, piping, rush-bearing, and preaching. I cannot conceive that Bishop Moreton would find himself quite at ease in the midst of such a scene.

The bill of fare for dinner and supper on this day, or rather the list of dishes prepared in the kitchen, is extant, and has often been printed. It was communicated by Sir Henry Philip Hoghton to Mr. Nichols when he

[1] Canon Raines's Notes to *Assheton's Journal*.

was writing his *Progresses of King James I.*, in which book an interesting account of the royal visit to Hoghton, extending over seven pages, is given. The manuscript was styled, "Notes on the diet at Hoghton at the King's coming there," and Sunday's dinner is as follows:

FIRST COURSE: Pullets, boiled capon, mutton boiled, boiled chickens, shoulder of mutton roast, ducks boiled, loin of veal roast, pullets, haunch of venison roast, burred capon, pastry of venison hot, roast turkey, veal burred, swan roast (one, and one for to-morrow), chicken pie hot, goose roasted, rabbits cold, jiggots of mutton boiled, snipe pie, breast of veal boiled, capons roasted, pullet, beef roast, tongue pie cold, sprod boiled, herons roast cold, curlew pie cold, mince pie hot, pig roast.

SECOND COURSE: Hot pheasant (one, and one for the King), quails (six for the King), partridge, poults, artichoke pie, chickens, curlews roast, peas buttered, rabbits, ducks, plovers, red deer pie, pig burred, hot herons roast (three upon dish), lamb roast, gammon of bacon, pigeons roast, made dish, chicken burred, pear tart, pullets and grease, dried tongues, turkey pie, pheasant tart, hogs' cheeks dried, turkey chickens cold.

The list of dishes for supper is much the same as that for dinner, but numbers only forty-seven instead of fifty-five, and need not be given here. These lists show, however, the lavish scale of the entertainment at Hoghton. For the preparation of these dishes twelve labourers, under the direction of the head cook and his assistant, were required.

It is probable that both Sir Richard Hoghton and his son, Sir Gilbert, bore a part in the summer revels in the gardens at Hoghton Tower. Sir Gilbert, as well as his father, was a performer in masques, and was celebrated for his elegant accomplishment in dancing. Of the masque at Hoghton there is, unfortunately, no adequate record, but, judging from Mr. Assheton's *Journal*, it does not appear to have been of outstanding merit. There is no "Comus" to give a reflected glory to Hoghton Tower, though the Earl of Bridgewater, before whom "Comus" was presented seventeen years later at Ludlow Castle, was one of the nobles in King James's train, and may even have taken a part in the

Hoghton masque. The speeches were "wittily pleasant," and "men, attired like lions and bears, were wonderfully amusing." "One ape-boy leaped among them, to the delight of the company," and there was "a man enclosed in a dendrological foliage of fronds." "The frolics," says the chronicler, "were carried on by Robert Goodfellow, Bill Huckler, Tom Bedloe, Old Crambe, Jim Tospot, Dolly Wango, and the Cowp or Cap Justice."

These revels, performed before King James "to beguile the quietness of Sunday," have some historical importance. It is generally supposed that it was at Hoghton Tower that the famous Lancashire petition was presented. There does not, however, seem to be any documentary proof of this, but the tradition of the county has always associated Hoghton Tower with the incident, although Myerscough is sometimes mentioned. It is permissible to suppose, therefore, till the story is disproved, that it was at Hoghton Tower that those who resented the Puritan spirit of their magistrates waited on the King, asking that he would authorize them to continue on Sundays the pastimes to which they had been accustomed. "In order to reform the manners of the people," Queen Elizabeth had instituted, in 1572, a high commission in Lancashire, consisting of the Earl of Derby, the Earl of Huntingdon, Bishop Chadderton of Chester, and others, who sat at Manchester, and issued orders throughout the county against

> pipers and minstrels playing, making and frequenting bear-baiting and bull-baiting on the Sabbath day or upon any other days in time of divine service; and also against superstitious ringing of bells, wakes and common feasts; drunkenness, gaming, and other vicious and unprofitable pursuits.

There was probably need for such an order, but the people of Lancashire resented what they considered a restriction of their liberties. Merry England was not to die without a struggle, and Lancashire was apparently merrier than many other parts of the country—for one reason, perhaps, because the Catholic tradition died hard

there. But between the extremes of Catholic and Puritan, there was the great mass of Lancashire people who were content to call themselves Protestants with Sir Richard Hoghton, but who had far more in common with the freer life of pre-Reformation days than with the more austere view of things then becoming a characteristic of a great portion of the nation. With this middle position King James was in entire sympathy, so when the petition was presented praying that the restrictions of the commissioners be withdrawn, he appears not to have hesitated to condemn them as incompatible with the privileges of his subjects, whose complaints, he said, "we have heard with our own ears, and which grievances we promise to redress."

The Lancashire petition is said to have been signed principally by "peasants, tradesmen, and servants." It would be interesting to know by whom it was presented to the King, and whether Sir Richard Hoghton himself was concerned in it. If it were presented at Hoghton Tower, then it must have been with the baronet's consent, and one would naturally think he would satisfy himself as to its being a representative appeal. Yet the truth seems to be that it was nothing of the sort, and that the better feeling of the county was running in a direction more in sympathy with than opposed to the finding of the commissioners. James, and perhaps Sir Richard himself, mistook the conditions of the neighbourhood for the feeling of the county, and even of the whole realm, for in fulfilment of his pledge in Lancashire he issued a declaration in the following year (May, 1618) which had momentous consequences. It is in this declaration that he states that he found it necessary in Lancashire to rebuke some "Puritans and precise people," in which he orders them not to prohibit or unlawfully punish his good people for using their lawful recreations and honest exercises upon Sundays after service. His pleasure was that after the end of divine service the people be not

disturbed or discouraged from any lawful recreation such as dancing, archery, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmless recreation, nor for having of May-games, Whitsun-ales, and Morris dances, and the setting up of Maypoles and other sports, so long as these amusements were carried on without impediment or neglect of divine service. But he prohibited bull and bear baiting and interludes on Sundays, and "bowling at all times in the meaner sort of people."

This declaration was shortly afterwards extended to other parts of the kingdom, and was printed and published under the title of *The Book of Sports*. In this the King says:

that his loyal subjects in other parts of the kingdom did suffer in the same kind though perhaps not in the same degree as in Lancashire, and he did therefore publish a declaration to all his loving subjects concerning lawful sports to be used on Sundays and festivals.

The bishops were ordered to cause *The Book of Sports* to be read and published in all the parish churches of their dioceses. This injunction caused great disgust amongst many of the clergy and laity, not only in Lancashire, but all over the country, and the feeling grew that the King practically was ordering a violation of the Sabbath. The Puritan clergy refusing to read *The Book of Sports*, it was withdrawn, but was re-issued by Charles I. in 1633, one of the many unfortunate acts of that unfortunate monarch, an action which no doubt was one of the many causes leading up to the Civil War. The book was burnt by the hangman in May, 1643, twenty-six years after the year of its origin at Hoghton Tower.

The King left Hoghton on the morning of Monday, August 19th, for Lathom. Mr. Assheton thus records the departure:

The King went away about 12 to Lathom. There was a man almost slain with fighting. We back with Sir Richard. He to cellar and drunk with us, and used us kindly in all manner of friendly speech. Preston: as merry as Robin Hood and all his fellows.

The list of dishes for the royal breakfast on Monday is recorded. They are thirty in number, and of much the same description as those for dinner and supper the day before.

In all these records there is no mention of the King's knighting the loin of beef, though the tradition that this took place at Hoghton Tower is a persistent one.[1] There was "roast beef" for dinner on Sunday, but there is no special mention of a loin. Whether the legend has any foundation of truth it is, of course, impossible to say. The word sirloin, or surloin, however, is much older than the time of James I. There is mention of "a surloyn beeff" as far back as the reign of Henry VI., the word being from the French "surlonge," which means simply the upper part of a loin. Roby, in his *Legends of Lancashire*, provides an explanation of the legend by supposing that the King merely made a jest on the word, calling out,

"Bring hither the surloin, sirrah, for 'tis worthy of a more honoured post, being, as I say, not sur-loin, but sir-loin, the noblest joint of all!"

The Civil War and Nonconformist Days

When the Civil War broke out in the summer of 1642, Sir Gilbert Hoghton was fifty-one years of age, and had been for nearly twelve years lord of Hoghton. In his youth, as we have seen, he had been a favourite of James I., and in his manhood he took the side of the King against the Parliament. It has been said that in the Civil War there were more wars than counties. The main events of the struggle were perhaps less talked of in many parts of a county than the local warfare, which was often confined entirely within the borders of one particular shire. The course of the war in Lancashire had little direct bearing on the main course of the struggle between the Royal and Parliamentary armies.

1 Pimp Hall in Essex also lays claim to being the place where James I. knighted the loin.

Within its own borders Lancashire carried on the war by its own captains and its own soldiers—a sort of local militia, who served almost exclusively at home, and called going beyond their own neighbourhood marching "on foreign service." [1]

In the early part of the contest the struggle was between the hundreds of Salford and Blackburn on one side, and the Royalists of the four remaining hundreds on the other.

At the head of the Royalists in Lancashire was Lord Strange, afterwards (September 29th, 1642) seventh Earl of Derby, with his headquarters at Warrington. At an early date he is found conferring with Sir Gilbert Hoghton at Hoghton Tower, and towards the end of November, 1642, Sir Gilbert called his followers together by firing the beacon at Hoghton, and went forth to meet the Parliamentary forces. The collision took place at Hinfield Moor, where the Royalists were defeated, and Sir Gilbert himself escaped in the dark to Preston.

A contemporary account of this first exploit of Sir Gilbert Hoghton has been preserved in a letter, called "A true and full relation of the trouble in Lancashire." This letter, which is dated December 2nd, was printed in London on December 9th, 1642, and states that "the county is grievously distracted and divided into two factions. The Papists and Malignants (whereof there are many in our county) act one part, and the well-affected Protestants another." In these Puritan Civil War tracts the Lancashire Royalists are invariably set down as Papists and Malignants, and the Hoghtons themselves are dubbed Papists, though they were very far from being anything of the kind. The writer goes on:

For the last week Sir Gilbert Hoghton set his beacon on fire, which stood upon the top of Hoghton Tower, and was the signal to the country for the Papists and Malignants to arise in the Fylde and Leyland Hundred; whereupon great multitudes accordingly resorted to him to Preston in Andernesse and ran to Blackburn, and so through the country,

[1] William Beamont, *Chet. Soc.*, vol. lxii.

disarming all and pillaging some, which Master Shuttleworth, the Parliament man, and Master Starkie hearing of, presently had gotten together about 8,000 men, met with Sir Gilbert and his Catholic Malignants on Hinfield Moor, put them to flight, took away many of their arms, and pursued Sir Gilbert so hotly that he quit his horse, leaped into a field and by the coming on of the night escaped through fir bushes and by-ways to Preston, and there makes great defence by chaining up the Ribble Bridge and getting what force he can into the town for his security, out of which the county swears they will have him, by God's help, with all his adherents, either quick or dead.

And the pious writer concludes:

O that Parliament had but sent down 1,000 Dragoniers into the county, we would not have left a Mass-monger nor Malignant of note, but we would have provided a lodging for him.

The Royalists held Preston for two months after this, but at Christmas Sir Gilbert led an expedition against Blackburn, an episode which seems to have partaken more of the characteristics of comic opera than of real warfare. Such, at any rate, is the impression left by a pamphlet published in 1655, called *A Discourse of the Warr in Lancashire.* The writer says:

Blackburn lying within three miles of Hoghton Tower, the principal house of Sir Gilbert Hoghton, a Deputy-Lieutenant for the Earl of Derby and a Commissioner in Array, he took it into consideration how unsafe it was for him in respect of his person and estate about Hoghton, but especially how dishonourable it might prove to his reputation with his King, if he suffered a garrison of the enemy so near unto his house and used no means to dissipate it. He was moved about the latter end of December, 1642, to think upon the reducing this garrison to the King's part. And thereupon resolved to set upon it, having the assistance of most of the Popish affected gentlemen in Amounderness Hundred, with their tenants in arms, the Trained Bands, and the Clubmen of the Fylde and other parts. He marched forward from Preston the 24th day of December, being Christmas time, up the way to Mellor Lane head so upon the north side of Blackburn.

The exploits of Sir Gilbert before Blackburn, however, do not read quite so bravely. There was no assault of the town nearer than a quarter of a mile, and the combatants were "afraid of coming near one another."

The soldiers in the town went out and "discharged their muskets at them at random," and for anything anybody knew not a man was hurt on either side. "Upon Christmas Day at night," the narrative concludes, "Sir Gilbert withdrew his forces, being weary of his siege, and his soldiers and clubmen very glad of it, that they might eat their Christmas pie at home. This was all the expedition of Sir Gilbert Hoghton against Blackburn."

Preston fell on February 9th, 1642-3, and Sir Gilbert escaped to Wigan, his wife, however, being taken prisoner, and his brother, Radclyfe Hoghton, was killed. It was a week after the taking of Preston by Sir John Seaton that the attack on Hoghton Tower was carried out. Three companies were dispatched from Preston to Hoghton on February 14th. Arrived before the building, a shot or two was fired "to summon it," and after half an hour's grace granted by the besiegers, the garrison surrendered. There was, therefore, no siege of Hoghton Tower, and no stirring tale of defence such as there was at Lathom later on. Indeed, but for the dramatic blowing up of Captain Starkie and his men, the action would have received little or no notice. It should be remembered, however, in justification of the conduct of the little garrison, that Sir Gilbert had fled to Wigan, and his wife was a prisoner at Preston. It is no wonder that they were disheartened.

The story of the capture of Hoghton Tower by Captain Starkie, and his subsequent death, is best told, however, in the words of contemporary writers. It is generally accepted nowadays that the explosion was the result of an accident, but it is not surprising to find it imputed at first to treachery. The writer of *A Punctual Relation of Passages in Lancashire* (1642-3) says Hoghton Tower was fortified with three great pieces of ordnance, and "some say betwixt thirty and forty musketeers, and some say more." After the parley, the result of which was "that they should deliver up the

Tower to our men upon quarter," the Parliamentary soldiers, "thinking all had been as was pretended," entered the Tower. There they found "good store of arms and powder strewed upon the floor," whereupon Captain Starkie, with his company,

going into the upper room of the tower to search for more arms, were most treacherously and perfidiously blown up by two of them to whom they had before given quarter, who had a train of powder laid, and when Captain Starkie and his men, to the number of above one hundred, were above in the house, gave fire to said train and blew both him and his men, with the roof of the house, up; threescore whereof were afterwards found, some without arms and some without legs, and others fearful spectacles to look upon.

In the same year, however, another Puritan writer gives a different account of this lamentable tragedy. The writer of *Lancashire's Valley of Achor* (1643) puts all the blame on to his own party. He says:

"Our men going down to take the Tower, and finding it prepared for entrance, possessed themselves of it, till being burdened with the weight of their swearing, drunkenness, plundering, and wilful waste at Preston, it dispossessed them by the help of powder to which their disorders laid a train fired by their neglected matches, or by that great soldiers' idol, Tobacco. However it was, sure it is the place so firmly united chose rather to be torn in pieces than to harbour the possessors. O that this thundering alarm might ever sound in the ears of our Swearing, Cursing, Drunken, Tobacco-abusing Commanders and Soldiers, unto unfeigned Repentance! For do they think that those upon whom the Tower fell and slew them, were sinners above the rest of the army?

These two accounts, both showing strong personal feeling and bias, may be supplemented by a third, which probably gives the unvarnished facts. It occurs in *A Discourse of the Warr in Lancashire*, published twelve years later. After describing the capture of Preston by the Parliamentarians, the writer proceeds:

They also sent some companies of soldiers to Hoghton Tower, who seized upon it and kept garrison there. But a fearful accident befel them, to their loss and grief, for, through want of heedfulness, some gunpowder was set on fire, which blew up and threw down some part of the house, and slew divers soldiers, amongst whom Captain Starkie, the colonel's son, was one, which was great sorrow to his father.

Preston was recaptured by the Royalists and lost again the same year, but Hoghton appears to have remained in the hands of the Parliamentarians during the rest of the Civil War.

By midsummer of 1643 nearly all Lancashire was in the possession of the Parliament. Amongst the names of the Royalist leaders driven from their homes, concealed by their friends, or compelled to leave the county, is that of Sir Gilbert Hoghton. Sir Gilbert died three years later, and so did not live to see the tragedy at Bolton in 1651, when his leader was beheaded in the market-place.

The new baronet, Sir Richard Hoghton, was on the side of the Parliament, and his name has been unpleasantly associated with the Earl of Derby's death. Seacome, the author of *The House of Stanley*, attributed the death of the earl to the inveterate malice of Bradshaw, Rigby, and Birch, "these three, assisted by Sir Richard Hoghton." Sir Richard had been one of the Parliamentary Committee of the county in 1645 (before his father's death), and in the following year he was the principal layman on the Presbyterian classis for the district. It is with him that the Nonconformist tradition of Hoghton Tower begins.

His Puritan sympathies he probably inherited from his mother, Lady Margaret Hoghton; but how the wife of Sir Gilbert Hoghton came by her Puritanism is not recorded, or how she regarded the part her husband played in the war. But her being taken prisoner at Preston in 1643 probably was not very distasteful to her. She was the friend of Isaac Ambrose, who attributed to her his appointment as Vicar of Preston in 1641, and he preached her funeral sermon in 1657.

Sir Richard Hoghton was thirty when he succeeded to the estates. His wife, Lady Sarah Hoghton, is said to have been "very eminent in religion," and "a great patroness of religion and Nonconformity." During the

years after the Restoration when persecution fell heavily upon Nonconformists, Hoghton Tower was an asylum for persecuted dissenters, "a rendezvous for celebrated preachers, and for many years a little congregation of Nonconformists was accustomed to meet for worship in the large apartment, formerly the dining-hall."[1] Dr. Halley draws a picture of Isaac Ambrose meditating in the hanging woods at Hoghton Tower and of John Howe studying in the ruined gallery, and finds it difficult to divest the Tower of its Puritanical associations.[2] The names of other nonconforming ministers who found something in the nature of a refuge at the Tower have also been preserved, and the "meeting" seems to have gone on there till the end of the eighteenth century, continuing for many years after the family had abandoned the house. In a list of Presbyterian chapels drawn up between 1717 and 1729, Hoghton Tower is given, with a congregation of one hundred and eighty, and there is a tradition that services were maintained till the death of Sir Henry Hoghton in 1795. There are references to Hoghton Tower in Restoration times in the *Autobiography of Adam Martindale*, an ejected minister, who instructed the children of Sir Richard there in 1665, and who records that Sir Richard and his lady showed him great respect, and that they had an able and goodly chaplain of their own. In 1674 Martindale's own nephew, Timothy Hill, was chaplain at Hoghton Tower, and the names of several others are recorded. Sir Richard himself, who died in 1677, is described as a person of great worth and honour, and esteemed in the several relations of public and private life, but "not celebrated for any particular strictness in his religious professions," and Oliver Heywood is reported to have said that "he was a favourer of good things, though no great zealot." This seems to indicate a sound view of things and a

1 *History of Nonconformity in Lancashire*, by Rev. B. Nightingale.
2 Robert Halley, *op. cit.*

healthy interest in the public life of the time, free from sectarian prejudices. His wife appears to have held stronger views than her husband on religious matters. Sir Richard's fifth son, Sir Charles, succeeded him, the four eldest having predeceased their father. Sir Charles did some building at Hoghton Tower, as has already been mentioned, and sustained the Nonconformist tradition. Oliver Heywood was a visitor to the house at this time, and Matthew Henry, the commentator, who is described as being on terms of intimacy with Sir Charles, often visited Hoghton Tower after preaching at Chowbent. Sir Charles died in 1710. His son, Sir Henry, the fifth baronet, was also a strong Nonconformist, and built a place of worship for "Protestant dissenters" at Walton-le-Dale, and afterwards helped to found a chapel in Preston. Sir Henry died in 1768, and was succeeded by his nephew of the same name. This Sir Henry is described as "the acknowledged leader of the Nonconformist party, for whose relief he introduced and carried some important measures." Besides having worship in the Tower itself, and giving support to Nonconformist interests in Walton and Preston, the Hoghton family were for a long time intimately connected with the Independent Meeting House at Tockholes, near Blackburn. Sir Henry, the fifth baronet, was the last to attend the service there, and he is reported to have said to his favourite minister, "Pray for me, for there are very few in my situation that go to heaven."

This Nonconformist phase in the history of Hoghton Tower is far less known than the two former chapters of its history—the visit of King James, and the capture of the mansion in the Civil War. Nevertheless it has a very real interest of its own, and if it is not marked by any stirring incident, it may well be remembered that while two generations of Hoghtons stood for Church and King, four successive baronets were local champions of independent religious thought.

Such is the old house on the hill between Preston and Blackburn—a house beautiful in itself and rich in memories of a bygone day, memories that will appeal to Catholic and Protestant alike, memories of royal feasting and civil broils. There is no mystery attached to the mansion, and the only legend that has found a home there is the very unromantic one of the knighting of a loin of beef. Considering the part played in the history of the county by Hoghton Tower, we may surely let the loin of beef go, and think rather of the stand for what they believed to be the truth made in different ways by succeeding generations of Hoghtons. For the story of the Tower, despite the Saturnalia of 1617, is one of which, on the whole, Lancashire may well be proud; and now that the days of neglect are ended, days the memory of which will live by the accident of Charles Dickens' visit, the entire county may join with Sir James de Hoghton in the words of thanks and praise which he has inscribed in stone in the courtyard of his house.

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